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TV Shows Gromyko Addressing Congress 26 Feb
LD270119 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 86

[Speech by Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the 27th CPSU Congress in the Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 26 February; from the "Vremya" newcast — recorded]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress is an outstanding event in our time. The delegates to the congress, and with them the party as a whole, are exactingly evaluating everything that has been done over decades and are laying the foundations for new successes. [applause]

In sketching out the plans for the future, the party is mobilizing its strength, its energy, its consciousness and experience in making the life of our people even better. The strategy and tactics of communist construction at the present stage are set out quite powerfully in the Political Report by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the party program which is being discussed, and in the plans for the further economic and social development of the country.

The world today is listening to every word — and that is no exaggeration — which is emanating from the Kremlin. Any person abroad, if he is not stupefied by the propaganda of various political rogues, can see that socialism is marching confidently forward. [applause]

Businesslike language and strict businesslike appraisal of what we have achieved both domestically and in international affairs has always been held in high esteem by Communists. Mere prettiness and high-flown phrases in appraisal is alien to us. But we have every justification in saying that the 27th Congress, in the content of its work, is a solmen hymn to our socialist society and its gigantic victories. [applause]

One of the most important things in our state and public life is the need to make the fullest use of the soviets of people's deputies. [applause] When we assess what our people still have to accomplish under the party's leadership, the tasks of the soviets at all levels, from top to bottom, perhaps stand out more clearly than ever before. The good things being done now by the soviets are just the beginning of the implementation of the plans of these state bodies in present-day conditions. The main thing still lies ahead, and they must be prepared for this.

From the congress platform one should resolutely emphasize that is time to put an end to the situation where local soviets are verbally acknowledging the need for the fulfillment of the commitments they have undertaken. Often it is all a matter of decisions being made which result in nothing happening or, if it does, then it is minute. The less paper shuffling and featureless or pointless resolutions, the more practical progress there will be in work, and the most zest [ogonyek] there will be about them.

It would be timely to say, while addressing the Soviets from this platform, this: Comrade Soviets, be more mobile, act in a more soliticious manner, and be more strictly responsible for what you are doing as the people, a part of which you yourselves are, demand. Support for the soviets in the practical solution of the tasks facing them from the party organizations must, of course, be ensured, for this is a task of the whole party of Communists and the whole people.

Yeltsin Address to CPSU Congress Shown on TV
LD261530 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Feb 86

[Speech by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, to the 27th CPSU Congress in the Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 26 February — recorded]

[Text] Comrades, each party congress should have a practical purpose to give our movement a powerful push forward, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin said. Lessons in telling the truth, the appeal to always be open, and to convey the essence of things when naming them, contained in the report, have led to a great deal of reflection. It has also originated from communication, meeting people in the collectives, and examining the materials of a number of party congresses. I would like to openly voice my concerns on a number of issues. Many why's have emerged. Why do we, from one congress to another, raise a number of identical problems? Why has the clearly alien word, stagnation, appeared in our party vocabulary? Why have we not managed to uproot bureaucratism, social injustice, and abuse from our lives over so many years? Why even now is the demand for radical changes getting stuck in the inert layers of time-servers who hold party cards? My opinion is that a number of party leaders lack the fortitude to assess the situation and their own role objectively, and in time tell the truth, no matter how bitter it might be; to assess every issue or deed — both one's own, one's colleagues, and one's superiors not according to the need of the moment but from a political viewpoint.

Rates of growth in the public sector have slowed down over the last few years as a result of ill-coordinated work in branches of the national economy and the lack of an efficient machinery of influence. The Council of Ministers should have been made to answer for this in time — but no, a joint decision was adopted instead; and again the only force which does not allow itself to split a mutual cause into a number of departmental sections appears to be the party organs. However, even they have become so deeply involved in economic matters that at times they start losing their positions as bodies of political management. How many times can the same kind of mistakes be tolerated? How many times can some leaders of party committees, disregarding the lessons of history, be presented as miracle-workers, at the same time as degrading the collective rationale which is the key weapon of our party? [applause] How this can be avoided? There is a remedy: control over everybody, permanently, from above and from below, and not a formal one. To make modesty a cult both in work and in general behavior, a system of periodical reports by all leaders and at all levels should be ultimately be set out by the CPSU Central Committee. I believe that this should also apply to reports by secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee at Politburo [meetings], the Party Central Committee plenums. First and foremost, the interests of the working class should always be our criterion for social justice.

The achievement of difficult horizons has been planned by Muscovites. Supporting the course directed at accelerated development, we should increase the average annual rates of industrial growth by 60 percent — at the same time, consumption of resources will only grow by one-third. The share of products with the Mark of Quality is to grow up to 70 percent, and investments in the social sphere will grow by 50 percent. Up to 70 percent of allocations will be spent on reconstruction. The cooperation of the city and Moscow Oblast will be put on a qualitatively new basis. To make the city cleaner, more civilized, more comfortable; to struggle for the honor and dignity of Muscovites — these are complicated tasks. One cannot avoid difficulties here, but they do not frighten or mesmerize us. They have to be overcome; the radical shift in customary views and approaches should be experienced; responsibility should be assumed for all aspects of work, and finally account must be taken and concern felt for every single human being.

The Moscow city party organization is capable of living through this experience, of drawing conclusions out of criticism. Possessing deep-rooted traditions, rich experience, reliable cadres, resting upon the created potential, upon decisions of the congress, it will be able to resolve the tasks which have been set and will always be a reliable support of the party Central Committee. [applause]

PRAVDA Publishes Speeches From 27 Feb Session

Pugo Address

PM281643 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 86
Second Edition p 5

["Speech by Comrade B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee" (*PRAVDA* headline) at 27 February morning session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates, in bequeathing us the revolutionary dialectics of Marxist realism in the theory and practice of communist building, the great Lenin called on Communists to be perspicacious both in evaluating the present moment and the strategic directions of party work.

The CPSU Central Committee has set a genuine example of this approach in its Political Report to the congress. It reflects in an honest, Bolshevik manner the acuteness of today's problems, reveals the need for new approaches, and provides a clear answer to the main question of how to scale new qualitative heights.

The congress' innovative directives, developing the concept of acceleration which had been put forward with realistic boldness by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, equip Communists and all working people with a practical action program for comprehensively transforming society. They demonstrate to us with new force that all the party's plans, plans of a truly revolutionary character and scale, will be fulfilled.

It is impossible to overestimate the significance of the CPSU's precongress documents. Submitted for nationwide discussion, they aroused the people, gave a powerful new impetus to consolidating the creative forces of the party and the people, and received the most fervent response and all-out support.

The large-scale new peace program put forward in the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, enjoys equally undivided support.

Less than a year has elapsed since the April plenum, but its line and the Central Committee's subsequent bold and energetic actions on a broad front — from strengthening the economy to combating drunkenness and alcoholism — are already yielding weighty results.

In Latvia, as everywhere in the country, they have really speeded up the pace, enlivened people's creative activity, and helped us in many respects to overcome instances of stagnation. As a result the republic completed last year's plan, the first months of which were extremely complex, ahead of schedule and met the main 5-year plan targets.

In assessing our achievements, the last thing we are inclined to do is become mesmerized by overall positive results, for we are only at the beginning of the route, the very beginning of major changes in the style and methods of party work. The tasks of intensifying production and retooling it outlined for the coming years are more demanding than in the 11th 5-Year Plan. But restructuring the material base demands a psychological restructuring on our own part. We have spoken a good deal about the importance of this problem and have achieved much intensification in words, but as yet intensification in deeds is proceeding only slowly.

Consequently, it is necessary to step up even more the demands made on every leader. Otherwise the very notion of restructuring will be devalued.

Party report and election meetings and conferences and the Latvian Communist Party Congress unanimously supported the CPSU Central Committee's principled line of renewing cadres and releasing those who are lazy and indifferent and who do not know how or do not want to work in an innovative way.

Since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum, the government has adopted a whole series of major and fundamental decisions in all areas of developing the economy and activating the human factor and the whole of sociopolitical life. Now, in compliance with Lenin's instruction, it is necessary to tighten up the monitoring and verification of performance to the utmost to prevent what happened previously, when time and time again we had to return to what should have been done long before.

It is with this aim in mind, obviously, that we should think about how to expand the information published on the enormous work being conducted by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. I am thinking of periodic coverage of the reports made by party, soviet, and economic leaders on their fulfillment of central committee and government decisions with an obligatory indication of who has not done something on time, what has not been done on time, for what reason, the kind of punishment received for this failure and when the deficiency is to be made up. We are convinced by our own experience that reports to the CPSU

Central Committee, coupled with extensive publicity, discipline cadres and increase their activeness and initiative.

At the beginning of 1983 a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee report on organizational and mass political work to further develop stockraising was heard at the CPSU Cental Committee. The implementation of the resolution adopted on the basis of the report made it possible to give more steady and dynamic development to stockraising and to meet the Food Program targets for stockraising output ahead of schedule. In the last 3 years the milk sales to the state have increased by 33 percent, meat by 24 percent, and eggs by 21 percent.

But we regard our achievements as merely the minimum prerequisite for fulfilling the 12th 5-Year Plan and the program directives of this congress.

Nor should another feature be lost from sight: Namely, psychological restructuring — which is the most difficult and complex stage of acceleration. Here it is not enough just to step up exactingness. What is needed here is more assistance and study, that is, the comprehensive analysis of the errors and deficiencies of every leader and practical demonstration of what must be done when in order to speed up the pace of intensification.

This work is now being carried in primary party organizations by all secretaries in charge of central committee sections and other republic workers. Consequently many urgent problems are being resolved on the spot. And the main thing is that there is increasing appreciation of the objective inevitability of retooling production and of new, nonstereotyped approaches.

The extensive familiarization with the experience of Leningrad and other party organizations in intensifying the national economy organized by the CPSU Central Committee and visits to exhibitions held in Moscow have been of great practical benefit here.

The resolution of the key problem of acceleration — the problem of output quality — depends on the quality of the cadres and their work. This, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has observed, constitutes our most immediate major reserve.

In this regard we have noted a change for the better. Some 58 percent of certificated output already obtains the seal of quality. And in terms of this indicator the republic leads the country.

However, the quality [illegible] of its products and their ability to compete in foreign markets still do not match up to present-day requirements. For this reason the republic has drawn up the comprehensive program known as "Quality-90."

Its aim is to substantially improve in a short space of time the quality of output and services, producing not just more things, but most importantly, better things, and thereby achieving the highest world standards. Can we do this? We can and we must. We do not try to justify our shortcomings. We are seeking to solve the problems promptly, to instill order in every workplace, and to make full use of organizational, scientific, and technical opportunities and the human factor.

However, there is a limit to what the republic can do itself. Everyone of us knows that many shortcomings and major deficiencies in the quality of output are due to the fact that ministries and departments concern themselves with this very important area too little, superficially, and at times with lack of skill.

It is now time to really set about reorganizing the labor remuneration system for workers in the organs of management, science, and other establishments in the nonproduction sphere — a system that is based on fixed salary rates which are in no way related to the quantity or quality of their work or the ultimate socioeconomic results.

It is doubtless useful to remember the way that V.I. Lenin saw the solution to the problem. Writing about the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate, he said: "You have 8,000 personnel instead of 9,000. Would it not be possible to reduce your numbers to 2,000, with a salary for 6,000 (that is to say, 3 times greater), and improve your skills?"

Now, when time itself demands from everyone the maximum accuracy, initiative, and commitment, there is no place wheresoever that we can maintain out of the state purse inflated staffing levels or people who lightly forget their responsibilities, or permit them to fritter away their time at work.

Fully supporting the creation of the State Agro-Industrial Committee and other measures to improve state management taken by the CPSU Central Committee, the republic's Communists have issued the order to purposefully continue the work begun and to improve the entire management system.

In present conditions, only a comprehensive, union-wide program and an integrated system of quality control are capable, I think, of breaking through the closed circle of lack of coordination among departments and concerting all labor collectives' efforts.

In the work of improving the quality of output everything is important. Take standards, for example. They are mainly designed to satisfy the minimum qualitative parameters and are burdened with a multitude of indicators. And new goods do not always manage to fit into their procrustean bed. Matters reach the point of absurdity. Our designers recently produced an a goodness knows how important, yet necessary cutlery service, which was deemed best at an all-union exhibition. But under the existing "procedure" it was sent thousands of kilometers from Riga to the Scientific Research Institute of Ferrous Metallurgy in Sverdlovsk, where the so-called strengthening rib of the spoons did not meet the sectoral standard.... (animation in the auditorium)

The question should be put bluntly: Is it not unsatisfactory that it is necessary to send across the country an ordinary spoon whose quality can and should be accounted for by the designers and producers themselves at local level? (applause)

It is also important to resolve such problems as scientific and technical information. Its incompleteness and lateness sometimes make it impossible to form a picture of the best world and even domestic examples so that even at the planning stage one finds oneself building in technical obsolescence.

Life demands that a statewide system of information processing and transmission system be set up in the near future on the basis of an integrated computerized network (and not on a departmentally segregated and thus multi-language basis as we now have).

The quality of consumer goods needs special attention. Practice shows that regional specialization and cooperation are an effective means of achieving that. Several years ago a coordinated council was created among the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and Moldavia to optimize consumer goods production. The result was that the need to duplicate the production of individual items disappeared and additional opportunities materialized to improve their quality.

This beneficial idea was supported by the USSR Gosplan, but because of its inconsistency, the result proved less significant than was expected.

We are convinced that we should not only return to this question but also take it further. We are talking about creating interrepublic trade and industry associations responsible for the production and sale of consumer goods.

The quality of output and of all our work is the key factor at which we must work by joint efforts and without delay in order to tackle the whole chain of practical tasks of acceleration.

In general, truly fundamental measures are needed to prevent the production of shoddy items and low-quality goods. And we support the proposal contained in the report on the need to adopt a law on output quality.

Everyone who respects his work and is not indifferent to the honor of the enterprise, the sector, or indeed the motherland is bound to join the ranks of those who fight for quality. (applause)

Comrades! The Political Report to the congress defined a comprehensively well-balanced course designed to launch the country into an unprecedentedly high orbit of social development.

The guarantee of its implementation is contained in the present favorable moral-political atmosphere, determined and intensive work, unity of the party and the people, and cohesive actions of all working people.

On behalf of Latvia's Communists I support the proposal to approve the CPSU Central Committee's activity as well as the draft new edition of the Party Program and the amended Party Statutes.

From this lofty platform we firmly state that Latvia's Communists, a militant and cohesive detachment of the CPSU, resolutely and creatively continuing the cause of the April changes, are making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary renewal of our society. (applause)

Credentials Commission Report

PM281331 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 86 Second Edition p 5

["Report by the Credentials Commission to the 27th CPSU Congress. Report by Commission Chairman Comrade G.P. Razumovskiy" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 27 February morning session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Comrades! The 27th CPSU Congress is an important new milestone in the history of our party and country. It is taking place at a crucial steage when exceedingly important decisions are being made while the party is determining the prospects for Soviet society's future movement toward communism.

The Central Committee's Political Report to the congress, delivered by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, convincingly described the character and uniqueness of the present. It provided a scientific analysis of the present state of Soviet society and expounded with Lenin-like candor and thoroughness the urgent problems of the country's socioeconomic development.

The report clearly formulated the party's general line and comprehensively substantiated the strategy and tactics of the struggle for communism in the present stage. It was permeated with the new, genuinely creative approach to carrying out the tasks. It put forward fundamentally important provisions which are of enormous theoretical and practical significance and will be taken on board by the party and by the entire Soviet people.

Recognizing its responsibility for the present and future of our socialist motherland, the party has resolutely set its sights on accelerating socioeconomic development. Given exact alignment by the collective thought of Communists and all Soviet people, this course is comprehensively substantiated and elaborated in the draft new edition of the CPSU Program and Basic Guidelines for the USSR's Economic and Social Development in the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Period up to the Year 2000. They are documents of great historical and political significance and they predetermine all the party's and Soviet people's multifaceted activity in improving socialism for many years to come.

The implementation of the programmatic tasks put forward by the party will require an all-round increase in activity by party organizations, an increase in the Communists' vanguard role, and the constant refinement of the style and methods of party leadership. Our party statutes, enriched by the new provisions which will be incorporated in it at the congress, will reliably serve this end.

The party- and nationwide discussion of the precongress documents convincingly showed their great inspirational and mobilizing force and demonstrated the unanimous approval by Communists and all Soviet people of the CPSU's general line and domestic and foreign policies and their steadfast will and resolve to successfully carry out the party's plans.

The 27th congress was preceded by reports and elections in all party components. They graphically reflected the positive processes taking place in the party organizations' activity under the

influence of the political guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee April and October (1985) Plenums. Communists displayed a high degree of activeness during the reports and elections and there was an atmosphere of thorough, principled criticism and self-criticism. They made a considerable contribution to the mobilization of Communists and working people to solve fundamental problems of production intensification and acceleration of scientific and technical progress and to the implementation of the party's social policy.

It was with a sense of great responsibility and a high degree of exactingness that the party organizations approached the formation of the newly elected leading bodies and election of congress delegates. Communists sent worthy and authoritative representatives to the congress.

Comrades! The Credentials Commission reports to the congress that the election of delegates in all party organizations was conducted strictly in accordance with the CPSU Statutes and election procedure and representation norms stipulated by the Central Committee: one delegate per 3,670 party members. A total of 5,000 congress delegates were elected, of whom 3,827, or 76.5 percent, were elected for the first time.

The Credentials Commission checked the credentials of all delegates and declared them valid.

Some 2,946 delegates were elected to the congress from RSFSR kray and oblast party organizations. The republican party organizations' delegations are as follows: Ukraine — 889 people; Belorussia — 189; Uzbekistan — 177; Kazakhstan — 224; Georgia — 105; Azerbaijan — 103; Lithuania — 55; Moldavia — 51; Latvia — 52; Kirghizia — 39; Tajikistan — 33; Armenia — 50; Turkmenistan — 31, and Estonia — 31.

The biggst delegations are those from the party organizations of Moscow — 321; Leningrad Oblast — 178; Moscow Oblast — 156; Donetsk Oblast — 93; Rostov Oblast — 90; Krasnodar Kray — 89; Sverdlovsk Oblast — 74; Dnepropetrovsk Oblast 73, and Gorkiy Oblast — 71.

Comrades! The elected delegates are Communists representing the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, people's intelligentsia, all strata of the Soviet people, and the various sectors of social production, science, culture, and management.

The working class is performing a vanguard and ever increasing role in improving socialism, in the whole process of communist building. Its political will, high degree of awareness, organization, and will are uniting the whole of our society. Workers occupy the leading place in the party's social composition. They are also broadly represented at our party congress. A total of 1,705 workers were elected as delegates, 1,375 of them employed in industry, construction, transport, and communications.

The worker delegates are in the front ranks of the struggle to attain maximum labor productivity on the basis of utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress. By their selfless labor and innovative approach to the job they are developing and augmenting in new historical conditions the glorious traditions of the Stakhanovite movement whose 50th anniversary was extensively celebrated in our country not long ago.

Some 872 agricultural workers were elected to the congress. They are Communists who are in the forefront of the struggle for the consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy and implementation of the USSR's Food Program. They include well-known exponents of big harvests and milk yields, celebrated machine operators, selection workers with inquiring minds, and eminent kolkhoz and sovkhoz production organizers. They are putting all their efforts, ability, and experience into constantly increasing output on the basis of switching agriculture to an industrial and financially autonomous footing and introducing scientific farming systems and intensive techniques and ensuring the best possible food-supply service for the population.

Our economic and engineering cadres bear great responsibility for improving management and the entire economic mechanism, for the retooling of production and all-round improvement of its efficiency. They are fittingly represented at the congress. The elected delegates include 355 leaders of production and science and production associations, enterprises, construction projects, design organizations, and technical engineering services, 80 sovkhoz directors, and 116 kolkhoz chairmen.

In contemporary conditions science plays an increasing part in the development and qualitative transformation of production forces and production relations, in the creation of fundamentally new types of equipment and technology, and in the all-round intensification of the country's economy. This is the constant goal of communist scientists' creative efforts. Some 114 scientific and VUZ staff were elected to the congress; the delegates include 123 full and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences, sector academies, and union republican academies of sciences. There is every reason to say that the cream of our science is present here.

Literary and artistic figures and personnel in the spheres of culture, the press, people's education, and health are actively promoting the consolidation of the socialist way of life and the shaping of a harmoniously developed individual combining spiritual wealth, moral purity, and physical perfection. Some 156 of them were elected to the congress. There are well-known writers, outstanding artists and performers, and distinguished teachers and scientists.

Comrades! The consistent implementation of the party's general line and policy and the standard of party leadership largely depend on our party cadres. By their dedicated service to the party's cause and selfless labor for the benefit of the people, they have earned great prestige in the eyes of Communists and all working people. The congress delegates include 1,074 party workers, including 570 secretaries of party okrug committees, gorkoms, and raykoms. The delegates include 698 secretaries of primary and shop party organizations and party group organizers.

Communists working in state and public organizations have a crucial part to play in ensuring the successful functioning of all elements of society's political system and the increasingly full implementation of the people's socialist self-management. The congress is attended by 682 soviet, trade union, and Komsomol

workers; 3,376 delegates are deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, union or autonomous republics' supreme soviets or local soviets.

The delegates include Communists who are protecting the interests of the Soviet state on the diplomatic front, who are waging an indefatigable struggle to strengthen the socialist community's international positions, to eliminate the threat of a thermonuclear world war, and ensure world security and disarmament.

Representatives of our glorious Armed Forces are participating in the congress work. They include marshals, generals, admirals and officers, ensigns, and warrant officers. Communists are uniting the personnel of the Army and Navy and are doing all they can to ensure that their combat potential is a strong blend of military expertise, ideological steadfastness, organization, and discipline. The USSR Armed Forces are vigilantly watching over the inviolability of our motherland's borders and are firmly protecting the Soviet people's peaceful labor and the socialist gains.

With each passing year and with each congress the number of women in the party increases; there are more and more in elected party bodies and more and more are being placed in charge of various sectors of communist building. The number of women delegates to party congresses is constantly increasing too. Some 1,352 women were elected to the 27th congress, which is 27 percent of all delegates. This is the biggest number in CPSU history in absolute and percentage terms. (Applause).

The composition of the delegate body reflects the international nature of our party, which is the embodiment of the indestructable friendship of the USSR peoples. The congress is attended by representatives of 72 nations and ethnic groups of the Soviet land. Communists of various generations were elected to the congress. Some 30.5 percent of the delegates are under 40 (considerably more than at the last congress), 34.7 percent are between 41 and 50, 26.5 percent are between 51 and 60, and 8.3 percent are over 60.

In terms of party service, the delegates divide up as follows: 1 delegate joined before the revolution; 84 joined between November 1917 and 1940; 199 joined during the Great Patriotic War; and 4,716 joined after the war, including 948 who have joined in the past 10 years. More than 98 percent of the delegates have higher, incomplete higher, or secondary education.

The congress delegates are people who have distinguished themselves in labor in the defense of our socialist homeland, in the performance of their international duty and people who are very active in social and political life. More than 92 percent of them have been awarded orders and medals for services to the motherland; 45 are Heroes of the Soviet Union and 479 are Heroes of Socialist Labor. Some 401 delegates are Lenin or USSR State Prize winners.

Comrades! The composition and the entire work of the 27th CPSU Congress clearly demonstrate that our party possesses a mighty ideopolitical and organizational potential. It is filled with creative strength, has close ties with the masses, and enjoys the total trust and backing of the working people. Under the proven leadership of our Leninist party, the Soviet people, armed with the ideas and decisions of the congress, will secure outstanding new accomplishments in the building of communism. (Prolonged applause)

Solomentsev Speech

PM011650 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 86 Second Edition p 3

["Speech by Comrade M.S. Solomentsev (Chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee)" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 27 February afternoon session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Comrades! The 27th CPSU Congress will occupy a special place in the heroic history of Lenin's party. It will adopt most important political documents which will establish pointers for our society's long-term progress. The businesslike atmosphere, the frank and creative discussion which has developed at the congress, and the bold and truly innovative approach to urgent problems give every reason for believing that correct, scientifically substantiated decisions will be formulated.

A realistic analysis and profound theoretical generalizations of the practice of improving socialism were provided in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The report determines the party's strategy and tactics at the present stage of communist building and the main aims and tasks of its domestic and foreign policy.

The discussion of the congress documents on the broadest democratic basis and Soviet people's full support for them have again reaffirmed the CPSU's growing authority as the leading force of society and the strength and indestructibility of its ties with the people.

In the qualitatively new situation the party has strikingly displayed its ability to mobilize the masses to great and truly revolutionary deeds. The strategic aim put forward by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development has given a powerful fillip to vigorous practical action.

Fundamental changes in economic management and the switch to comprehensive production intensification have been begun. Radical measures are being taken to establish order, strengthen discipline, and eradicate drunkenness and alcoholism. The work of state and public organizations is being stepped up and the entire system of social relations is being improved.

The party's foreign policy initiatives and its program of historic scale and significance for the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction have gained the approval and recognition of all progressive mankind.

The party arrived at its latest congress even more united and enriched with new experience. Under its proven leadership the Soviet people have made appreciable advances in all spheres of socialist creation. Our successes are considerable and indisputable. But they could have been much greater if society's

onward development had not been inhibited by difficulties and shortcomings in work and by negative phenomena. The CPSU Central Committee Political Report was honest and forthright about this, in the Leninist manner.

The party has learned the right lessons from the failure to assess promptly and properly the changes in the economic situation. It had become clear by the end of the sixties that the sources of extensive development were effectively exhausted. It was necessary to switch immediately to production intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress. This is what scientists, specialists, and party and state workers said. Unfortunately, the lack of a sense of the new and the mental inertia that affected many people prevented the correct conclusions from being drawn.

This is the main reason why the projected CPSU Central Committee Plenum on scientific and technical progress did not take place, although all the materials had been prepared. As a result we lost time. Oh, what little time we have! And it is only since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum that the task has been raised in its entirety and, what is particularly important, has been actively translated into practice.

Nor was the proper persistence shown in the implementation of projects. Decisions were not always backed up with organizational work and executive discipline was faltering. Purely formal collegiality often took the place of comprehensive discussion of questions. As has already been said at the congress, some people put a one-sided interpretation on the basically correct thesis about treating cadres with respect and saw it merely as protection against principled demands.

Certain people ventured to violate party and state discipline with impunity. A typical example is the attitude toward implementation of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions on combating drunkenness and alcoholism adopted in 1972. Basically, they were not fulfilled. Gosplan, the Ministry of Finance, and other ministries and departments deserve to be seriously reproached for this. Instead of reducing production and sales of alcohol, it was planned to increase them; and, unfortunately it was these plans that were successfully fulfilled. As a result, society and the state suffered further economic, social, and moral damage. Unfortunately, examples of this kind of indiscipline were not isolated.

It must be admitted with the utmost frankness that until recently cases of deception of the party and state, window-dressing, and eyewash were not properly stamped out. Some leaders had stepped into this slippery slope, trying to stay on the "commanding heights" at all costs. Believing that they were special and indispensable, they made considerable efforts to remove, as has been said already, entire party organizations, departments, and regions from the scope of control. What happened as a result of this is well known. Of course, comrades, as was stressed in the Central Committee Political Report, the vast majority of our cadres worked and continues to work honestly, responsibly, and hard. It was largely as a result of their efforts and self-sacrifice that difficult questions of social development were successfully solved, which makes cases of deviations from the Leninist norms of party and state life all the more intolerable.

It is no secret that our enemies speculate on individual instances of a negative kind which we ourselves reveal and condemn. By exaggerating them and presenting them in a distorted light, they try to discredit socialism as a social systems. You will achieve nothing by this, gentlemen! Lenin's party is strong by virtue of its truth. The frank analysis of shortcomings and correction of errors are evidence of the correctness of our cause, the just nature of our system, and our inexorable movement forward. (Applause)

The party was waged a resolute, uncompromising struggle against all distortions — conservatism, irresponsibility, and abuses. Criticism and self-criticism are being intensified, as is publicity in the work of party and state bodies. All this meets with the Soviet people's approval and support.

In present-day conditions, when the aim is to resolutely strengthen discipline, responsibility, and orders, the significance of control and verification of execution increases. The role of control also increases in connection with the increase in the size of the tasks facing us and the fact that production organization and social life in general are becoming more complex. Monitoring of cadres' work is the guarantee of the reliable functioning of every component of the system for the leadership of society.

I want particularly to talk about party control. The CPSU Central Committee demands that it extend to all officials and all Communists, and itself sets an example of this kind of control. As a way of checking fulfillment of very important party decisions, ministers, party committee secretaries, and other leading personnel recently have regularly reported back at CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat sessions. Every examination of this kind is a way of educating cadres in the spirit of high exactingness, organization, and efficiency.

Control, as is known, is carried out by the whole party. It is important to enhance the role of primary party organizations in this. Everything is on view here, so to speak; everyone's merits and shortcomings are very noticeable. But it has to be admitted that in some cases party organizations and their leaders still lack principledness when it comes to calling a Communist, especially a leader, strictly to account. For example, in the Turkmen party organization last year, out of the 367 cases relating to individuals examined by primary party organizations, stiffer party penalties were imposed by the raykoms and gorkoms in 330 cases. These measures would not have been needed of course, had it not been for liberalism in assessing Communists' actions.

Certainly, if every primary party organization makes full use of its powers under the CPSU Statutes, then party control will be genuinely mass and all-embracing and will be more effective.

I am sure that the congress delegates will unanimously support the provision incorporated in the new edition of the CPSU Program to the effect that no party organization and no working person can remain outside the scope of control. This is a Leninist, Bolshevik approach! (Applause)

Comrades! The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee and local party committees have crucial functions to perform. In line with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, party control bodies are reorganizing

their activity and stepping up the struggle for observance of the CPSU Program and Statutes, party and state discipline, and the norms of communist morality.

Briefly speaking, the essence of the reorganization consists of resolutely intensifying Communists' personal responsibility for the fulfillment of party directives on key questions of socioeconomic development. A great deal of attention is being devoted to monitoring the implementation of measures to accelerate scientific and technical progress, improve output quality, and make thrifty use of resources.

The Party Control Committee has recently checked the work of a number of major research and planning institutes and design and technological organizations. As is known, they are called upon to be at the forefront of the struggle for scientific and technical progress. But, in fact, it turns out that many of them, especially the sector organizations, are bringing up the rear. And some are barely ticking over.

The Ministry of the Medical and Microbiological Industry's Research Institute for Biological Testing of Chemical Compounds has displayed glaring irresponsibility. Its 2,000-plus staff failed to create a single medical preparation despite spending more than R50 million in the last 12 years.

Here is another example. The All-Union Research Institute of Drilling Technology, having once received dividends for rather good power units for drills, has been sluggish in its approach to the development of improved drill bits, without which no progress can be made in drilling. For three decades the institute's design thinking in this sphere has been sterile, and the national economy is losing hundreds of millions of rubles per year. Surprisingly, the leaders of the institute and of the Minsitry of the Petroleum Industry are still quite unconcerned.

A generalization of the results of the checks shows that the time has come to sharply increase demands on research institute and design bureau cadres. Acceleration of scientific and technical progress is impossible without solid and effective work by them. They need people with a vocation, gifted people for whom innovation is literally and obsession; for scientific, engineering work is creative work, comrades. (Applause) So the CPSU Central Committee Political Report was right to point out the need for the most vigorous measures to ensure the lofty prestige and responsibility of scientists and engineers, designers and technologists. VUZ enrollments and the training of the future creators of scientific and technical progress must serve these aims. The fulfillment of the Energy and Food Programs is being constantly monitored. Unflagging attention is being paid to questions of social development and improvement of Soviet people's standard of living. It will continue to increase. The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee takes the most strict and intolerant view of all forms of deception of the state, window-dressing, and overreporting. They are evil not only because they distort the objective picture of our economy. As is known, they are a source of free income, they give rise to bribery, and they corrupt people.

Local party bodies' party commissions have accumulated valuable experience. Most of them are characterized by an in-depth approach to the scrutiny of individual cases and Communists' appeals. They are making fuller use of their monitoring functions. The Ukrainian Communist Party Party Control Commission, for example, regularly checks the rational utilization of resources. Vigorous work is being done by the party commissions under the Belorussian and Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Leningrad, Omsk, and other party obkoms.

Our party's Central Committee pays much attention to increasing the role of party commissions. A decision was adopted recently aimed at strengthening party gorkom and raykom party commissions. There are now full-time chairmen everywhere. Party committee members and activists are becoming members of commissions. It is important, in view of the growing significance of control work, for party committees to continue to assist and support their party commissions and not distract them from their own business.

I think the congress delegates will agree with the proposal incorporated in the CPSU Statutes on renaming party commissions under union republican Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms party control commissions. The new name reflects more accurately the established practice and the changes that are objectively taking place in their activity. It will certainly help to make party control more effective. (Applause)

Comrades, the task of control bodies is, of course, to reveal instances of irresponsibility, waste, suppression of criticism, and immorality. But we must press on further — eliminate the very causes of negative phenomena. This is how V.I. Lenin saw the essence of the control process. "...Finding a guilty chief," he pointed out, "is only a very small part of the work." The main thing is "...to promptly make the requisite practical changes and put them into practice."

Every inspection must help impose order where party and state discipline have been loosened. The achievement of specific results is what control is called upon to promote. And organizational work and preventive measures must be oriented toward this.

A question that must be raised is that of increasing the coordination of the whole system of socialist control. At present it does not operate everywhere as a well-adjusted mechanism. Sometimes one commission succeeds another, yet the situation does not improve. In a number of places control organs carry out many parallel inspections. Matters even reach the point of absurdity.

In Murmansk Oblast I was told that in 10 months last year the "Arktika" sovkhoz was the target of the attention of 78 different commissions. The sovkhoz, incidentally, works quite well. It is simply amazing that it did not waver in the face of the onslaught of inspectors and did not worsen its production indicators. (Applause)

In our view, there is also a pressing need for the substantial restructuring of departmental control. It has a large staff of inspectors and auditors who carry out many inspections; however, the effectiveness of most of them is extremely low. Is this not because the auditors are sometimes subordinate to those whom they audit and willy-nilly defend purely departmental positions? I think that in statewide interests it is time to begin more boldly

and more resolutely sweeping the dust out of all "departmental corners"!

Comrades!

The Central Committee Political Report raises in an absolutely correct and timely way questions of moral education and of the struggle for the party member's pure and honest image. The Communist's lofty moral qualities — and that is precisely what they must be like — are a matter of constant concern for all party organizations and party committees.

The party is now establishing strict demands on all Communists, especially Communists in leading positions. No leniency is shown, indeed, none can be shown, toward those who deviate from the norms of party life and the requirements of the law. The party expelled from its ranks former ministry and department leaders — Shchelokov, Khuramshin, Kondratkov, and others — for unworthy conduct, extremely crude violations of party discipline and socialist legality, and degeneracy.

In the party, discipline is the same for everyone and no one can lay claim to special status. It is indicative that during the nationwide discussion of the changes to the CPSU Statutes, the Leninist proposition regarding Communists' dual liability — before the party and before the law — for misdeeds has been unanimously supported. That is how it must be: If you have wronged the party and the people, you will get what you deserve!

Yes, comrades, the party grows stronger by purifying its ranks. But it grows stronger primarily by being swelled by conscientious, industrious, educated people. And our common concern is to preserve the purity of party ranks.

The molding of highly cultured people and their ideological and political and moral education require increased attention nowadays. New approaches precluding formalism, pontification, insincerity, and empty talk in education are needed.

We speak with pride of what a good education gives young people. But are the necessary moral traits always inculcated in them in good time? Unfortunately, there are still many omissions here. Yet the acquisition of knowledge and a trade must be organically combined with the inculcation in people of high culture, decency, and, I would say, conscientiousness. The family, school, literature, art, and the mass news media must constantly contribute to this noble cause.

Persuasive words and ardent appeals are needed, of course; but what is more valuable than anything is personal example, especially that of Communists. The education of young people by using specific examples of highly moral behavior and of an active life stance is incomparably important.

Comrades! The ideas and decisions of our congress strengthen socialism's attractiveness as the most advanced and just social system. All honest people in the world see that it is precisely socialism that embodies working people's interests and aspirations, affirms genuinely humane relations, and exemplifies the ideals of peace and progress.

The Soviet people have boundless belief in the party's collective intellect and political genius. The fulfillment of the inspiring program of creation and peace that the congress has outlined will still further strengthen the might of the Land of the Soviets and will raise still higher the Leninist party's prestige! (Applause)

Reportage on 28 Feb Congress Proceedings

Session Opens

PM021205 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 86 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on 27th CPSU Congress Proceedings"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress continued its work 28 February 1986.

At the morning session contributions were made to the debate on the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the party congress by Comrades V.M. Chebrikov, chairman of the USSR KGB; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee; Yu.I. Lobov, party committee secretary at the "Izhmash" production association in Udmurt ASSR; S.I. Manyakin, first secretary of Omsk "Mosmetrostroy" No 8 construction and installation administration; K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and V.M. Mishin, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The congress was greeted by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia.

Further contributions to the debate were made by Comrades P.N. Demichev, USSR minister of culture; S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee; M. Yakubova, director of Urgench boarding school in Khorezem Oblast, Uzbek SSR; and V.I. Kalashnikov, first secretary of Volgograd CPSU Obkom.

Then the congress was greeted by Comrades Gaston Plissonier, Politburo member and secretary of the French Communist Party Central Committee, and Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council.

The discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Political Report to the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission accountability report continued at the afternoon session.

The congress was addressed by Comrades E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and Yu.M. Shatalov, faceman at the Karl Marx pit of the Ordzhonikidze coal mining production association in Donetsk Oblast.

To applause from the delegates and guests, representatives of Soviet youth and Pioneers entered the hall. The envoys of the

younger generation were given a warm welcome. The Komsomol members and Pioneers addressed words of greeting to the 27th CPSU Congress and presented the Lenin Komsomol's report to the Congress Presidium.

Further contributions were made to the debate by Comrades D.N. Gagarov, first secretary of Maritime CPSU Kraykom; Zh.D. Fedorov, first secretary of Kamenskiy CPSU Raykom in Voronezh Oblast; S.A. Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee; and L.A. Kulidzhanov, first secretary of the Board of the USSR Union of Cinema Workers.

Then the congress was greeted by Comrades Herbert Mies, chairman of the German Communist Party, and Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States.

TV on Chebrikov Address

LD281632 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Report on speech by Viktor Chebrikov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, at the 27th CPSU Congress on 28 February; from the "At the 27th CPSU Congress" program]

[Text] Comrade Kunayev chaired the morning session. First to speak in the debate on the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress and on the report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was Comrade Chebrikov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security.

[Begin Chebrikov recording] Comrades! The congresses of our party are important landmarks on the path of communist construction. There are, however, congresses which are called upon to play a special role in the life of the party and the Soviet people. The 27th CPSU Congress will undoubtedly go down in history as one of these.

I should like to state from this lofty tribune that Soviet security officers and frontier guard servicemen unanimously and cordially support the tenets and conclusions of the political report and the strategic course of the party which is leading us toward the great goal of communism. [applause]

In the Political Report Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed the need for an offensive in exposing ideological sabotage. As is known, imperialism assigns an important role to ideological sabotage in the struggle against socialism. Many features inherent in the ideological struggle are characteristic of ideological sabotage. It is also carried on in the spheres of politics and law, philosophy and religion, morality and ethics, that is, precisely in those areas where the struggle of ideas is waged. The enemies of socialism would like to rock the cohesion of the working people around the CPSU, to destroy the moral and political unity of Soviet society and the fraternal friendship of our country's peoples. Ideological sabotage is aimed at exerting a hostile influence on the views and moods of the Soviet people, undermining their faith in communist ideals, and ultimately turning them against socialism. These are vain attempts.

In our country an all-state system of political-organizational, legal, educational, and other measures to guarantee the security of the Soviet state and society from the subversive intrigues of imperialism has been created and is in force. An important position in this system is occupied by the activity of the KGB organs. It is based of such fundamental Leninist principles as the leadership of the party, the indissoluble link with the masses, and the strict observance of socialist legality. Our country is on the upswing, and naturally this goes against the grain with imperialist circles. It is quite evident that Western special services will try to step up their hostile activities. But all their designs are doomed to failure. They are countered by the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people, their vigilance and patriotism. No one will be allowed to encroach upon what has been gained by the blood and labor of our people. [applause]

The Central Committee Political Report and the other documents being discussed at the congress devote much attention to the questions of implementing a Leninist cadres policy. The party and people make special, higher demands on the Chekists. Since the time of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy a tradition has grown up in the organs of the Cheka-KGB — a tradition firmly consolidated by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov — of painstaking work with cadres, of bringing them up in the spirit of loyalty and boundless devotion to the motherland. This tradition is carefully guarded and developed. At the same time, we are aware that we must work even more actively to insure that all our officers are staunch political fighters of the party, uncompromising toward the class enemies, that they assess their work self-critically, are principled and truthful, and constantly safeguard the purity of their ranks. [end recording]

Chebrikov Speech

PM011506 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Mar 86 Second Edition pp 5, 6

["Speech by Comrade V.M. Chebrikov, Chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 28 February morning session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Comrades! Our party congresses are important milestones along the path of building communism. But there are congresses which are destined to play a special role in the life of the party and Soviet people. The 27th CPSU Congress will undoubtedly go down in history as such a congress. It is designed to define the program goals and key issues of the party's strategy at a very crucial period of our country's development which in many respects will be a turning point.

Vladimir Ilich Lenin taught that the party's policy can lead to success only when the party takes account of the requirements of the moment and keeps a sensitive ear tuned to life. If the documents being discussed by the congress are examined from this viewpoint, it can firmly be said that our party, the CPSU Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo, having faithfully captured the requirements of the time, have duly appraised the changes in the objective conditions of production development and have substantiated the need for its intensification and for the implementation of major changes.

The Political Report delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, outlines an action program of historic scale and embodies the living thoughts of the party which reflect the fighting creative mood generated among Communists and in the labor collectives by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum. The report is distinguished by boldness in raising issues and by its innovatory approach to their solution and it is imbued with concern for the well-being of Soviet people.

The entire course of the congress again shows cogently that the CPSU is a party of revolutionary action which lives according to Lenin's behests. Thanks to the heroic labor of the Soviet people and to the party's tremendous political and organizational work, our country has traveled far along the road of social progress. However, life dictates the need for further transformations. The ardent enthusiasm with which the working people have greeted the measures proposed by the party Central Committee aimed at ensuring a radical improvement of matters in all spheres of the country's life and at cleansing our society of negative phenomena, and the universal support which they are giving to the implementation of these measures oblige Communists to do everything to justify peole's hopes and to direct the labor impulses of millions toward the solution of the set tasks. The duty of each Communist is to reliably and energetically translate the party's ideas and plans into practice and to set an example in labor, in the discharge of one's social obligations, and in everyday life. In so doing he must always and in everything be honest — honest to the party, to the people, and to his own conscience. Only in this way can one justify the boundless trust which Soviet people place in their Communist Party. (Applause).

From this lofty rostrum I want to state that the border guard servicemen unanimously and ardently support the propositions and conclusions of the Political Report and the party's course leading us to the great goal — communism. (Applause).

The Political Report provides a comprehensive analysis of the contemporary international situation and precisely defines the main goals and directions of the party's foreign policy strategy. The package of large-scale peace initiatives expounded in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's 15 January statement and the fundamental principles for the creation of an all-embracing system of international security laid down in the report cogently attest to our profound adherence to the cause of peace.

Unfortunately the leading imperialist states are not displaying readiness to halt the arms race, and they are continuing to puruse a policy from a position of strength. The core of the aforementioned course consists of overt anti-Sovietism and a feverish quest for ways to achieve military superiority over the USSR. The U.S. Administration sets the tone in this. Washington continues to interfere in the affairs of sovereign states and pursues a policy of state terrorism. In the implementation of this course a special role is assigned to the U.S. special services in whose activity an increasing place is occupied by political and armed provocations and by ideological and economic subversion.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the main target for the aspirations of the imperialist states' intelligence services and of various foreign subversive centers and organizations. Our enemies have not renounced their intentions to eliminate socialism as a social system. The special services of the United States and of a number of other NATO countries make persistent efforts to compromise the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR and to implement actions which are aimed at undermining the Soviet economy. They long to get hold of our political, military, economic, scientific, and tehnical secrets and they seek to penetrate state institutions, military installations, and scientific research establishments. Making use of the expansion of international links, the imperialist intelligence services seek social degenerates in our society, people who are politically immature and morally corrupt and, by suborning officials, they try to obtain from them information constituting state or official secrets.

In recent years a number of agents of imperialist intelligence services and renegades who have sold important official secrets to foreign organizations have been detected in certain ministries and departments. The aforesaid individuals who embarked on the path of committing state crimes have paid a strict but just penalty in accordance with the law. The same inglorious end awaits anyone who ventures to betray the interests of the motherland. (Applause).

In the Political Report, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed the need for assertiveness in exposing ideological subversion. As is known, imperialism allocates an important role to ideological subversion in the struggle against socialism. Many features inherent in the ideological struggle are characteristic of ideological subversion. It is also waged in the sphere of politics and law, philosophy and religion, ethics and morals — that is, precisely where the struggle of ideas takes place. But at the same time ideological subversion differs radically from the ideological struggle which is dictated by the reality of the existence in the world of two opposed social systems and which is permissible in interstate relations. Ideological subversion is one of imperialism's forms of subversive activity; it is conducted chiefly by the special services and its objective is to undermine or weaken the state and social system.

The opponents of socialism would like to shake the cohesion of the working people around the CPSU and to disrupt the moral-political unity of Soviet society and the fraternal friendship of the peoples of our country. Ideological subversion is aimed at exerting a hostile influence on the views and sentiments of Soviet people, undermining their faith in communist ideals, and ultimately at turning them against socialism. These are futile efforts!

But these aspirations cannot be ignored. Special services and foreign anti-Soviet organizations make persistent efforts to establish contacts with people who interest them, to condition such persons in a hostile spirit and predispose them to criminal acts. As before, lies, slander, and appeals to struggle against the system chosen by our people are brought into play. Various kinds of "radio voices" maintained by the Western special services play an important role in this. Thus we are dealing with overt interference in our internal affairs and with brazen violations of the norms of international law and Soviet legislation. Quite understandably, the measures provided for in our legislation are applied and will be applied resolutely in the struggle against such

hostile actions. But the interests of this struggle also require increased vigilance by Communists and all Soviet citizens, an attitude of irreconcilability toward any ideologically harmful manifestations and toward any kind of wavering or vacillation which could aid the class enemy in his attempts to weaken the strength of Soviet society. They require the further enhancement of the effectiveness of ideological work, the daily nurturing in Soviet people of boundless devotion to communist ideals, love for the motherland, deep respect for the Soviet Union's national anthem, emblem, and flag, and toward everything that symbolizes the immortal feats of our people.

We must pay special attention to the education of young people. The party, Komsomol, and other public organizations have something to work on here. Cultural and artistic figures could make a weightier contribution to this work. A new problem connected with the widespread proliferation of home video equipment also merits attention. This phenomenon, which in itself is good and progressive, is being used by some people for the propaganda of ideas that are alien to us, the cult of cruelty, violence, and amorality. This activity must receive from the public a precise and uncompromising assessment. In our socialist society, just as on a well-tended field, there must be no weeds. (Applause).

Of late certain circles in the West have constantly been making a great deal of the theme of imaginary violations of the political and personal rights and freedoms of the individual in the Soviet Union and have been putting forward unfounded demands and claims. All this is designed to inflame the antisocial aspirations of individual renegades among Soviet citizens and nudge them onto the path of committing outright hostile acts. All those who oppose socialism are lauded to the skies and matters are reaching the point where inveterate criminals are being defended. What kind of rights are their Western defenders trying to secure for them? They are seeking to have them granted the right to violate the laws of our socialist state with impunity. But we never grant such a right to anyone. (Applause).

As is known, the Soviet Union supports mutally advantageous links with the capitalist countries in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and other spheres. Hundreds of thousands of foreigners who are sincerely interested in tackling business issues and becoming more closely acquainted with the life of Soviet people come here each year. We shall continue to broaden these contacts and accord our traditional hospitality to visitors. However, we are opposed to attempts to abuse this hospitality. And unfortunately there are instances of this. Therefore, we are forced to nip in the bud the attempts by certain guests — if I may be permitted to use that word — to make use of international ties for purposes that are hostile to our country.

A statewide system of organizational, political, legal, educational, and other measures has been set up in our country to ensure the security of the Soviet state and public against imperialism's subversive intrigues. The activity of the organs of the KGB which is built upon the foundation of such fundamental Leninist principles as party leadership, unbreakable ties with the masses, and strict observance of socialist legality occupies an important place in this system. Operating under the leadership of the CPSU and its Central Committee, they wage a constant struggle against the intrigues of the imperialist special services and do everything to reliably guarantee the security of the motherland. The border guard troops play a special part in guaranteeing the inviolability of the sacred borders of our fatherland. The border guard servicemen carry out their service vigilantly and are ever ready to give a decisive rebuff to any aggressor. (Applause).

The activity of the KGB organs is carried out on the basis of the provisions of the Constitution and of the laws of the USSR in strict accord with the principles of socialist democracy, the level of development that Soviet society has achieved, and with the tasks of its further improvement. We proceed from the premise here that the social base of the commission of state crimes is absent in our country, and we spearhead our activity primarily toward the suppresssion of any criminal acts carried out or directed from outside.

As distinct from the special services of the imperialist states, our organs of state security do not stand above the people but have always been of the same flesh and blood as the Soviet people. (Applause). They ensure the security not only of the state as, properly speaking, an organization of political power, but also the security of Soviet society insofar as their social foundations and interests under socialism are identical. Therefore, the task of guaranteeing state security is a matter for the whole of society and for each Soviet citizen. We constantly seek to ensure that our links with the working people may grow stronger and broader, that our actions may be comprehensible to Soviet people, and that they may meet with their approval and full support.

The documents which the congress is discussing contain important propositions which develop Lenin's ideas about the defense of the socialist state against imperialism's subversive activity. They teach all Soviet people a class approach to the phenomena of social life and the ability to recognize ideas, schemes, and practical actions which are hostile to our society and to resolutely rebuff them.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words which he uttered in the Political Report regarding the state security organs make it incumbent upon every Chekist to be profoundly aware of the fact that our responsibility for the work assigned to us by the party inreases substantially under conditions where the country has embarked on a qualitatively new stage of its development. We realize that the state security organs are still greatly indebted to the party and people. We are obliged again and again to check our practical deeds against the directives of the party, against the requirements which the party congress will formulate. Undoubtedly new approaches to the solution of set tasks will be required and also more targeted actions. And we shall persistently enhance the efficiency of our work. The party organization of the KGB is focusing its attention on this.

Our country is on the upswing and this of course is not to the liking of the imperialist circles. It is perfectly obvious that the Western special services are trying to step up their hostile activity. But all their intrigues are doomed to failure. They are opposed by the ideological-political unity of Soviet people and by their vigilance and patriotism. No one will be permitted to encroach on what has been won by the blood and labor of our people. (Applause). Against those who have embarked on the path

of espionage, subversion, and other state crimes, we have applied and will resolutely apply all measures envisaged by the law, strictly observing the principle of the inevitability of retribution. At the same time we proceed from the premise that one of the most important avenues of the KGB organs' activity is above all the struggle for each deviant Soviet person. One of the chief tasks is to help such a person and to keep him from the commission of a state crime; this task stems from the humanistic essence of our system.

Much attention is paid in the Central Committee Political Report and in the other documents being discussed at the congress to the questions of pursuing a Leninist cadre policy. The party and people are making particular, heightened demands of the Chekists. Since the time of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy a tradition has taken shape in the organs of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combating Counterrevolution and Sabotage and KGB — a tradition which was firmly consolidated by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov — a tradition of painstaking work with cardes, of educating them in a spirit of boundless devotion to the motherland. This tradition is being solicitously safeguarded and developed. At the same time we are aware that we must work still more energetically on ensuring that all our staffers are staunch political fighters of the party and irreconcilable toward class enemies, that they assess their work self-critically, that they are principled and truthful, and that they constantly safeguard the purity of their ranks. (Applause).

Comrades! The 27th congress opens up before us inspiring prospects of communist creation. Of course, bold and energetic actions and a great and strenuous application of effort will be needed for the solution of pressing problems and for accelerating our movement forward. But we are all confident of success, confident of our strength, and confident that in eliminating existing shortcomings and overcoming difficulties, our party and people will do everything necessary to solve the tasks set by the congress. (Prolonged applause).

Demichev Speech

PM021716 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 86 Second Edition p 2

["Speech by Comrade P.N. Demichev, USSR Minister of Culture" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 28 February morning session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Comrade delegates! For the fourth day now the attention the entire Soviet people and of all the world's public has been riveted upon the work of the 27th party congress.

The raising of strategic tasks on a large scale and the gripping panorama of prospects for the country's social development revealed in the Political Report evokes in all of us a feeling of pride and a desire to compare the measure of one's responsibility and one's activity with the historic goals which have been expounded in such a cogent and vivid way by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the party Central Committee.

We realize very well that the new stage, the turning point in the development of our society initiated by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum requires a serious restructuring of the style, methods, and forms of our work.

We have a reliable reference point as to how and in what direction work methods are to be improved.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat provide us with instructive examples of how it is necessary to strive for the full restoration of Leninist traditions. Leninist norms of party life, a Leninist style, and Leninist methodology in work, and how this is to be done in deeds and not just words.

This is expressed specifically: in the precise scientific definition of the strategy of the political course; in the elaboration of innovatory plans and programs; in the reliance during their implementation upon the masses' creative and labor initiative; in the bold promotion of new and well-trained cadres; in the strict fulfillment of decisions being adopted and in the unity of word and deed; in the development of criticism and self-criticism as a salutary motive force: and in high Bolshevist exactingness.

Persistently implementing Leninist principles, the CPSU Central Committee is seeking the radical improvement of all party work, and this is logically greeted with great enthusiasm and receives the fervent approval of all delegates of the 27th congress. (Applause). We are confident that the 27th CPSU Congress will become a congress which will firmly establish Leninist style and principles everywhere in all party, soviet, and public organizations!

The Political Report and the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program define the chief tasks and directions for the masses' assimilation of the riches of spiritual and material culture, for their active enlistment into artistic and technical creativity, and for the enhancement of the role of literature and art in the life of society.

At the dawn of Soviet power, Vladimir Ilich Lenin stressed that "the educational and cultural enthusiasm of the mass of the population...is a condition for the enhancement of labor productivity."

To use V.I. Lenin's words, today we also "need a tremendous rise in culture."

The strengthening of the link with the life of the people, the truthful and highly artistic depiction of socialist reality, the inspired and vivid revelation of what is new and progressive, and the passionate exposure of that which hampers society's forward progress — this is the chief line in the development of literature and art and it must be organically combined with that resolute struggle which the party is waging for the strengthening of discipline, for the firm establishment of social justice, and for a healthy moral climate.

Bureaucratism and routinism, formalism and idle talk, localism and narrow departmentalism, ostentation and conceit, and apostacy from lofty moral ideals must be removed with merciless force from our life as the most malicious phenomena which are alien to the nature of socialism.

An irreconcilable, trenchant, and bold struggle has gotten under way in this direction recently, and it is already having a tangible and salutary impact on all aspects of our life.

Figures in culture and the arts are joining in this struggle increasingly energetically. Artistic works have appeared on the stage, in literature, and in the cinema in which a struggle against negative phenomena unfolds in the form of acute conflicts, and in which a new type of enterprising, bold worker is established who is irreconcilable toward inertia and routine.

Such theatrical productions as G. Markov's and E. Shim's "From Today's News" (Iz Novostey Etogo Dnya), A. Misharin's "Silver Wedding" (Serebryannaya Svadba) and "Equals Four Frances" (Ravnyayetsya Chetyrem Frantsiyam), A. Arbuzov's "The Guilty" (Vinovatyye), V. Chernykh's and M. Zakharov's "Let's Experiment" (Provodim Eksperiment), A. Dudarev's "Threshold" (Porog), A. Buravskiy's "Speak..." (Govori...) which is based on motifs from the works of V. Ovechkin, and many others attest that the Soviet creative intelligentsia is seeking to be an active assistant of the party in its struggle for the firm establishment of a genuinely innovative style in work, for the purging from our society of all that retards the acceleration of our forward movement.

We realize full well that the responsibility of cultural bodies and of the creative intelligentsia is increasing significantly today. Art makes its way to millions, to virtually the entire population of the country.

Together with the creative unions we are seeking to heighten the demands on the ideological-artistic content of works of literature and art. Comrade Markov said yesterday that we have differing assessments of any particular works. Possibly this is so. But the main thing is that neither the Writers Union nor the Ministry of Culture, nor the State Committee for Cinematography nor other departments should allow grayness, vulgarity, and various kinds of hack work to slip through. It is necessary to have a reliable barrier everywhere here.

The "churning out" of ideologically immature, artistically defective works is today engendering serious negative social consequences. On the other hand, any creative success, any talented work which carries within itself a great ideological charge plays a tremendous educational role.

The scientific-practical conference held in December 1984, and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report at it were of great significance for the correct orientation of all our ideological cadres and cultural workers. The demand put forward at the conference — to direct propaganda, culture, and all ideological work toward the chief problems of life and toward practical work rang out persuasively and conclusively. The conference brought clarity to certain important theoretical problems of the development of Soviet society.

The scientific and technical revolution is changing our notions about the social significance of a person's spare time. It is making new demands on the level of his political maturity, culture, education, vocational training, and physical development

Today, the harmonious development of the individual is not just a humanistic goal but also a necessary precondition for the successful solution of all economic and social tasks. The technocratic approach to the development of production which leads to an underestimnation of the human factor and of the role of man as a creator and constructor is totally unacceptable at the present time.

Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that until recently planning and finance organs regarded cultural building as some kind of unprofitable burden on the economy, as outlay with no return. And at the local level, the construction of cultural establishments, even of those which were included in the plan, frequently dragged on for many years and even decades.

As a result of such approaches the pace of cultural construction was sharply cut back in the 11th 5-Year Plan. And yet to this day there are 500 rayon centers that do not possess a house of culture. Many major populated points lack clubs. Since 1965 we have opened about 130 new theaters, and there are now 622 theaters in our country. We have not, however, succeeded in achieving the prewar level when more than 900 theaters were functioning.

Today we need the most up-to-date material base for culture and the most up-to-date forms of organizing work with the masses and with each individual. We want Soviet man to enjoy all spiritual riches and to live an interesting and joyous life.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the recently adopted decisions of the party Central Committee aimed at strengthening the material and technical base of the sphere of culture and ideology and at improving the utilization of cultural establishments, sports installations, and so forth. The Central Committee poses concern about people's leisure and the correct organization of spare time as a most important task. In communist society, Karl Marx observed, "the measure of wealth will by no means be work time but spare time."

We accept as perfectly correct the demand contained in the Political Report concerning the need to draw energetic conclusions from critical comments and to reorganize ourselves more rapidly. We have much to do in order to raise the entire level of cultural-enlightenment work and to bring clubs, houses of culture, parks, and museums into exemplary order. The question of the technical equipping of cultural establishment has become acute. A person will not leave his domestic televison or tape recorder, and soon his domestic video equipment, to go to a bare club.

In order to step up the activity of all cultural organs, starting with the union ministry, we are introducing reports from organs of culture to the populace. Experience which is already available shows the effectiveness of this measure. Many reserves for enhancing the efficiency and social role of culture repose in the further strengthening of democratic principles.

We must launch a movement by all strata of the population, especially the intelligentsia and young people, for a high level of culture. Whole republics and large regions such a Siberia have started this movement.

The alliance of labor and art must become not just a slogan but a reality everywhere.

In his exceptionally interesting speech a delegate from the Kazakhstan party organization, Comrade Gellert, spoke of the significance of cultural patronage of the virgin landers and of the fact that just recently this patronage has been on the wane. I want to assure the congress that the USSR Ministry of Culture is taking all steps to increase the activeness of patronage work to the utmost. (Applause).

The new, broader tasks set before the cultural organs, just as in all spheres of our national economy, require new approaches on our part to the management of this complex and subtle sphere of spiritual life.

V.I. Lenin stressed that the solution of new tasks requires the seeking out of new organizational forms and the teaching of the masses from their own experience and from their own failures and errors to utilize the achievements of science and to verify that science does not remain for us a dead letter or a modish catchphrase. He resolutely struggled against any kind of stereotyping and attempts to establish from above the kind of uniformity which becomes a obstacle to the development of creative initiative.

Just recently much criticism and many suggestions have appeared on the pages of the press aimed at improving management of the cultural sphere. Serious sharp comments about concert activity have been voiced. We are persistently seeking new approaches to rectifying existing shortcomings.

On the basis of a prolonged and comprehensive check, a CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution was recently adopted on the procedure for the formation of the creative personnel of theaters, circuses, and concert organizations. This reveals, as experience shows, new opportunities for the further enhancement of the ideological-cultural standard of Soviet art, for the improvement of professional skill, and for the improvement of work on the selection and education of creative cadres. The basic principles have now been elaborated for a new experiment to verify the comprehensive approach to the management of all theatrical work.

Life has already repeatedly convinced us that without structural changes it is sometimes difficult to achieve a qualitative improvement of work. As the result of a massive experiment in the 11th 5-Year Plan period, libraries were centralized and this produced positive results. The number of readers increased by 22 million. A large proportion of the country's population now enjoys the services of libraries, and their role in communist education and in the information service for industrial and agricultural specialists has increased.

The centralization of clubs and houses of culture has revealed the opportunity for associations of hobbyists, amateur artistic circles, scientific and technical enthusiasts' groups, and other effective forms of mass cultural work to become more widespread. Cultural and sports complexes which are being set up are making it possible to satisfy the diverse requirements of young people and other sections of the population, pooling resources, and enhancing the efficiency of their utilization. New forms of work also require closer attention and assistance; but not everyone, unfortunately, realizes this. It frequently happens that signboards are changed, but everything else remains the same.

In reorganizing management, we are seeking to take maximum account of the multinational nature of Soviet culture. The development of multinational socialist art has become one of the most important factors for the cohesion of our peoples and for the consolidation of their fraternal friendship.

The role of this factor increases many times over today when we can resolve the ambitious tasks facing us only by the combined efforts of all the Soviet people. This is why, as was stressed in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report, any connivance at manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, at national haughtiness and national narrow-mindedness are intolerable. The timely analysis and tackling of problems which emerge is an indispensable condition for the preservation, development, and mutual enrichment of the progressive cultural traditions of all the peoples of the USSR, and for the strengtheningn of their friendship and unity. Only on this basis does the natural course of the development of national cultures logically lead to the formation of an international communist culture.

I should like to talk about yet another particular problem. Departmental estrangement engenders inefficiency in the utilization of the material base of culture, bureaucratic barriers, and the inability — and sometimes an unwillingness too — to develop and rely on initiative coming up from below. This has a particularly adverse effect on work at the local level.

It is our conviction that cultural, cinema, and sports establishments should operate on the basis of general plans, bearing in mind above all the creation of the necessary preconditions for ensuring a healthy, meaningful, and interesting way of life for the public. We are seeking to secure the better coordination of work with trade unions and the Komsomol.

A statewide program of aesthetic education is now being elaborated on the basis of CPSU Central Committee instructions. It seems to us that this will make it possible to elevate to a qualitatively new level the entirety of artistic education and aesthetic training. For this it is essential that all interested departments should operate in a coordinated fashion and with a sense of party and state responsibility.

Questions of the more effective pooling of efforts by state and public organizations in shaping an aesthetically rich environment for man have long been a pressing issue. Each city, each populated point must become not just comfortable, but also aesthetically attractive for man and engender in him a feeling of patriotic pride. The realization of these goals will be promoted by the decisions which have been adopted to allocate 1-2 percent of funds from the estimated cost of construction work for purposes of the artistic and decorative finishing of buildings and installations; it will also be promoted by the skillful combination of art and architecture and by the widespread restoration of historical and cultural monuments and other measures.

Our socialist culture is now fulfilling a crucial international mission. Precisely this, through its development, has prevented the forces of reaction from flooding the world with a turbid tide of spiritual obscurantism and of the kind of pseudoculture which sets as its objective the destruction of the principles of good and beauty and the propagation of the cult of violence.

The forces of reaction are now making energetic efforts to create a "cold war" atmosphere in culture and to use it for the propaganda of hatred, anti-Sovietism, and anticommunism. Many peoples today are having occasion to encounter increased activity on the part of bourgeois state centers and major commercial monopolies which are pursuing a policy of "cultural imperialism" and of the outright crushing of progressive, democratic, and national cultures.

During the cultural forum held in Budapest in the fall of 1985, concepts of contemporary international cultural cooperation which are opposed in their social essence clashed openly. Our ideological opponents attempted to torpedo the principled provisions of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki in 1975, to interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, and to dictate terms to them.

All these attempts were fittingly and convincingly rebuffed and the creative intelligentsia of the socialist countries, and above all the Soviet intelligentsia which took part in this forum, demonstrated both a high degree of maturity and an ability to uphold our ideals. (Applause).

We shall continue to do everything in our power to ensure that international cooperation in the sphere of culture may serve the cause of progress and detente and the improvement of the spiritual atmosphere of the modern world. Here too the fraternal socialist countries are marching in the same rank as we.

The Soviet Union now carries on cultural links with 120 countries. Our experience proves convincingly that no people today has an interest in transforming international cultural cooperation into an arena of "psychological war." We shall continue to defend genuine cooperation and respect for the culture of each country. Comrades! Our congress is truly a most important historic event. It will go down in history as an innovators' congress that is Bolshevist in spirit, as a forum of reason and concern for peace, happiness and, well-being for all mankind! (Applause).

Shevardnadze Address

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["Speech by USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 28 February afternoon session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Comrades! There have been congresses in the history of the party and the state that have been styled as unscheduled or extraordinary. Ours is a scheduled congress. But it will go down in history as a turning point in the life of the country and the party, as the congress of innovators.

There is no need to fear these words. There is no socialism without innovation, creativity, or transformations. Whenever an extreme situation arises, man starts thinking and acting in a special way. Now that the world is close to a crucial point, this ability could prove decisive for the whole of mankind.

The CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th party congress presents man and mankind on the common scale of contemporary problems.

Having assembled at a most crucial stage, the congress cannot fail to produce new ideas corresponding to the times. We have before us a code of principles of the new political thinking which have been expounded for the first time, and these principles make it possible to draw conclusions of fundamental importance for the fate of mankind.

First, a dangerous gap has developed between the realities of the nuclear age and the understanding of tasks facing the world. A fundamental review and decisive renunciation of old-fashioned philosophies and obsolete doctrines constitute a paramount and vital necessity.

Second, new economic, scientific, and technical factors shape the entire interdependent world, in which reality makes increasingly tough demands of every state's leaders and dictates utmost responsibility in behavior and decisionmaking.

And third, imperialism will under no circumstances abandon its fixed idea that the most progressive achievements of human thought, when embodied in means of destruction, are capable of perpetuating its domination and halting history's onward march. But the potential and nature of modern weapons are such that they deprive the policy of confrontation and antagonism of all meaning.

These conclusions are drawn on the basis of impeccable Marxist-Leninist analysis of the epoch's trends and contradictions.

A ominous background, but this analysis does not create a feeling of hopelessness. Imbued by political optimism, the report indicates prospects which are common for all mankind and creates a mood for struggle against the growing avalanche of destructive processes.

How are these to be halted? What new ground can be broken? The answer to these questions is contained in the entire series of energetic practical steps undertaken by the Soviet leadership since April 1985.

These 10 months have revived people's hopes. A new style and the force of logic and conviction were manifested in M.S. Gorbachev's conversations with statesmen and public figures from various countries, during his visit to Paris, and at the Geneva meeting with the U.S. President. But the concept of a nuclear-free world, put forward by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in the 15 January statement, was an event of truly momentous significance.

Being a model of the new approach, a synthesis of profound thinking and of original analysis of contemporary realities and

specific and practically feasible measures, the statement has already acquired the nature of a physical force. It was this force which compelled the U.S. Administration to take cover behind a palisade of reservations, linkages, and conditions.

What guided the Soviet Union when it put forward the program for universal security through disarmament? The firm belief that the objectives set in this program are equally desirable and precious for all peoples on earth.

What did we plan on in proposing the comprehensive plan for stage-by-stage liquidation of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons? On the support of those who share our views, of our allies, friends, and class brothers, whose best representatives are present at our congress. (Applause). The statement expresses the coordinated opinion of the socialist community and the interests of progressive forces and all people of good will.

The historic concept of a nuclear-free world was conceived in the course of the Soviet leadership's comradely dialogue with the fraternal states' leaders. Never before has there been such a productive exchange of opinions and such a thorough coordination of joint actions as during the past few months, which were marked by four meetings of top party and state leaders of Warsaw Pact countries and conversations with a broad circle of representatives from socialist and nonaligned states.

It would appear that everything is perfectly clear and simple: Nuclear weapons are something terrible, immoral, and unnatural. Nevertheless, no sooner is a call made for their total liquidation than "advocates" immediately appear to present them as almost a universal boon. Today they are again trying to prove that these weapons are supposedly necessary as a factor of mutual deterrence, claiming that it is impossible to manage without them. The assessment of the U.S. side's stance, contained in the Central Committee's Political Report, was fully confirmed after the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks provided additional clarifications of this stance. We failed to discover any new, let alone constructive, elements in it.

A few words about the West's attitude in connection with our proposals on medium-range missiles in Europe.

We heard in the course of conversations with a number of statesmen from NATO countries: Progress in our relations will depend on your readiness to remove Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe. Do not link this problem with strategic arms and space.

Strange metamorphoses are to be detected, however, now that readiness has been clearly expressed to do precisely this and to fully liquidate Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in the European zone on a mutual basis. Our recent interlocutors are obviously losing their enthusiasm and are resorting to more and more reservations.

Questions concerning the military balance in Asia, whose practical solution is envisaged by the Soviet program at the appropriate stage, are artificially dragged into this in an attempt to complicate the reaching of an agreement.

The only thing we want from France and Britain, in the event an accord is reached with the United States, is for them not to build up quantitatively their relevant nuclear arms. All questions concerning this issue could be the subject of direct exchange of opinions with France and Britain.

It must be said plainly: Not at the expense [ne za schet] of French and British nuclear weapons; this is, of course, a compromise option going against the customary arms race logic. [Nado skazat bez obinyakov: ne za schet yadernykh vooruzheniy Frantsii i Anglii — eto, konechno, kompromissnyy variant, lomayushchiy privychnuyu logiku gonki vooruzheniy.] Now is the time for West Europe to have its say and show its face. The extent of its political responsibility is today being subjected to a serious test.

A few words about another important aspect — about Soviet enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles. What will happen to them? I will answer. If U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe are liquidated, there will no longer be any need to keep Soviet operational-tactical missiles where they have been deployed.

We are calling for joint efforts in order to organize our all-European apartment block in such a way that all peoples inhabiting it feel secure in their own national apartments.

You see, it does not suit the opponents of our nuclear disarmament program that it combines the reduction of strategic nuclear means with a ban on the creation [sozdaniye] of strike space weapons. Yes, this is so, and the reason why is simple: No matter how much the "star wars" program may be camouflaged beneath its defense orientation, it is at least a "twin" of nuclear weapons.

Our answer to those who advise us to lift our objections to the "Strategic Defense Initiative" is: The Soviet Union and the Soviet people will play no part in any deception of mankind. (Applause).

The concept formulated in the January statement goes much further than the idea of a nuclear-free future. In our view, the liquidation of nuclear and chemical weapons must be accompanied by corresponding stabilizing reductions in conventional arms. At the same time, this is a permanent process of reorienting political and public awareness and laying completely new foundations of universal security — political, economic, legal, humanitarian, moral, and ethical.

The transition to a qualitatively different level of regulating interstate relations demands primarily a decisive democratization of all international life.

The attainment of the Soviet initiative's main objective would mean the taking of a gigantic step toward the creation of conditions for true democracy. The nuclear so-called "club of select powers" would be liquidated and the countries in the world would de facto become more equal. States' confidence in one another would increase.

The democratic nature of any country's foreign policy is measured by the extent to which its actions in the international arena

meet the criteria and norms set by the overwhelming majority of the world community's members, by its rigorous adherence to international law and order.

Many proclaim democracy in international politics. The question is, however, who imparts what meaning to this term.

The obstructionist U.S. stance on the question of terminating nuclear tests is the direct antipode of democratic approach to international relations. The United States will not terminate nuclear tests for as long as nuclear weapons exist, that country's defense minister Weinberger declared a few days ago. It cannot be said more clearly: The Administration does not desire any real positive developments in the liquidation of these weapons. At the last UN General Assembly session, 120 states voted on 4 occasions in favor of a resolution demanding an end to nuclear weapon tests. But the U.S. Government feels no ethical discomfort when confronted with the fact of such unanimous condemnation of its stance. In the same way it feels no discomfort when facing its own Congress, which has only just voted in principle for the termination of nuclear tests.

Every state implements a foreign policy which corresponds with its own national interests. Even here, however, the question is how are these interests perceived by whom. By proclaiming entire regions, continents, and oceans de facto to be zones of its interests, the United States is subordinating other peoples' sovereignty and independence to its own political and economic expansionism. It proclaims legitimate governments to be illegal.

The U.S. linkage of nuclear disarmament with the settlement of regional conflicts is the ultimate in hypocrisy.

Those who themselves are helping to maintain and expand regional conflicts are the ones who are talking about them.

Washington makes no secret of the fact that one of the "star wars" program's fundamental objectives is to capture strategic commanding heights. The domination of space could ensure domination on earth. This program is a strategy for a new enslavement of peoples, for making them submit to imperialist diktat.

If space arms were to be created [sozdaniye], only those who possess such arms would have a chance to remain free and independent.

The Soviet Union would not wish this, but it can create [sozdat] everything that will be necessary to ensure its own security and the defense of its allies and friends. (Applause).

We say to the Americans: Do not burden your conscience with a new grave sin, do not release the space jinn, you have already given the nuclear jinn as a gift to mankind.

I will emphasize something else: Having once agreed to ban the creation [sozdaniye] of strike space weapons, the Soviet Union and the United States could conduct talks on any aspect of permissible research in the space sphere. We are in favor of the most daring cooperation programs in the peaceful exploration of space.

Yes, socialism and the socialist countries are vitally interested in the implementation of our concept of peace. But all peoples on our planet need it equally as much.

Stereotyped thinking is at times stronger than the metal of weapons. Before scrapping the tools of death, it is necessary to scrap these stereotypes.

We declare: Peace is in keeping with the supreme class interests of socialism.

Are the U.S. leaders capable of rising to the same summit of concern for the whole of mankind?

To judge by many indications, and particularly by President Reagan's statement last Wednesday [26 February], hitherto they have obviously been incapable of it. Let us leave to his aides' conscience the esoteric figures and deductions which he manipulated. "Strength is the most convincing argument.... We negotiate with the Russians from positions of strength." These are the President's words. They can be trusted only by a philistine, and not even a contemporary one at that.

We have no intention of giving free reign to emotions. The Soviet Union is a convinced champion of solid and honest dialogue. This was said precisely and clearly in the Political Report to our congress. (Applause)

We shall see how we can be forced to do anything if our people say "No!" (Applause).

Talks are conducted by mutual agreement and on an equal basis. They can, of course, be conducted in different ways. Diplomacy is, of course, a delicate matter, but not so delicate as to break the thread of talks and interrupt the dialogue. We are interested in fruitfulness, and therefore set the practical task of improving the machinery of talks. To conduct matters so as to reveal the entire well-argued nature, substantiation, fairness, and honesty of our proposals, bearing always in mind the attainment of a practical outcome. In the language of our congress — end results.

Recently, we have been increasingly often reproached for the publicity of our foreign policy actions, claiming that we are engaging in propaganda. Yes, we attach great significance to open diplomacy. It was applied most effectively by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his Paris and Geneva utterances. Here too we are faced with the question: How is propaganda understood by whom? In the West, it is associated with demagoguery and rhetoric. In our view, propaganda means identity of words and deeds, a method of directly addressing the world public opinion. It carries the lessons of truth. Let those who can, learn from them. (Applause)

Comrades! The party is determining the program directions of its foreign policy under the prevailing specific conditions. Its main objective is to ensure for the Soviet people the opportunity to work under conditions of peace and freedom. The primary means is to halt material preparations for nuclear war. The primary avenue is to implement the program for the total liquidation of all types of mass destruction weapons by the end of the century and block the path for arms in space. The primary

principle is to approach the security problem as an exclusively political one and to solve it on the basis of equality, reciprocity, and universality.

This strategy of peace is created by the millions. Foreign policy in our country serves the working man, and it is he who vests in statesmen and diplomats the power to practically implement it. The worker at his lathe, the miner at the face, the milkmaid at the stock unit, the serviceman on combat alert, the scientist in the laboratory, and the artist in the studio — these are the sources of our foreign policy, the ones who give us strength, energy, and confidence in the correctness of our cause. (Applause).

The fact that foreign policy is the result of the people's collective creativity presupposes a particular responsibility to them of all foreign policy departments. Enormous work has definitely been done here, comrades, and most valuable experience has been accumulated in the conduct of international affairs.

At the same time, foreign policy institutions cannot be some kind of prohibited zone, closed to criticism and self-criticism. Even more so in view of the fact that they also have their own problems and reserves, particularly as regards the enhancement of the activeness and dynamism of Soviet diplomacy and the further scientific elaboration of its foundations.

I have worked as minister for only a short while. It would seem rather early to engage in self-criticism. And if I have an opportunity to address the 28th congress, then I will, of course, speak about both achievements and shortcomings; I will speak openly and self-critically. (Applause).

In the last few months I have had quite a few meetings with representatives of different states. They asked numerous questions, which testified to the keenest interest abroad in events in the life of our country and our people since the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. Exhaustive answers to all these questions are provided by the Central Committee's Political Report and the actual atmosphere of work at the party congress.

What is particularly important today is the effective and well-organized functioning of every cell of our society, of every link in the party. An atmosphere of tireless quest and discovery of bold and correct solutions has been established in the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo. The total freedom of creativity, the freedom to discuss all issues, the profound democracy, and the strict exactingness are inspiring. If this example were to spread to all party organizations and to all labor and creative collectives, then there can be no doubt that all the tasks set by our congress will be fulfilled. (Applause).

1 Mar Session Observes Palme's Death

PM021731 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 86
Second Edition p 7

[Unattributed TASS report: "Profound Condolences"]

[Text] Delegates and guests of the CPSU 27th Congress have observed a minute's silence in honor of the memory of Olof Palme.

V.M. Chebrikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, who chaired the 1 March morning session of the congress said:

Sad news came in from Stockholm overnight. Olof Palme, prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Sweden, was villainously killed last night on his way home. His wife was wounded. The killer fled.

The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Government of the Soviet Union express deep condolences to the people of Sweden, to the Social Democratic Labor Party which Olof Plame led for many years and to the Social Democratic and Labor Parties many representatives of which are attending this congress.

We are outraged and shaken by the mean murder of the outstanding statesman and politician who was a world-known fighter for peace, the independence of peoples, and broad cooperation among all states for the benefit of humanity.

We shall never forget how much Olof Palme did for developing good-neighborly relations between his country and the USSR.

CPSU Congress Proceedings Enter 5th Day

PRAVDA Lists 1 Mar Speakers

PM021243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 86
Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Information Report on 27th CPSU Congress Proceedings"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress continued its work on 1 March 1986.

The following comrades spoke at the session in the debate on the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Party congress and the CPSU Central Auditing Commission's Accountability Report: S.L. Sokolov, USSR defense minister; Yu.V. Petrov, first secretary of Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom; M.I. Zhelina, department chief at Pskov Oblast's No 1 hospital; I.O. Gorbachev, chief producer at Leningrad's A.S. Pushkin State Academy Drama Theater; B.M. Volodin, first secretary of Rostov CPSU Obkom; G.K. Petrov, senior inspector at Voroshilovgrad Oblast's "Stakhanovshakhstroy" trust; G.I. Usmanov, first secretary of Tatar CPSU Obkom; V.S. Murakhovskiy, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of Ulyanovsk CPSU Obkom; V.A. Dinkov, USSR minister of the petroleum industry; V.Ya. Karsilshchikov, party committee secretary at Vladimir's A.A. Zhdanov tractor plant; and V.P. Mysnichenko, first secretary of Kharkov Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom.

The congress was greeted by Comrades Rajeshwara Rao general secretary of the Communist Party of India National Council, and Ugo Pecchioli, member of the Italian Communist Party Directorate and Secretariat.

Comrades S.A. Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU, and A.P.

Filatov, first secretary of Novosibirsk CPSU Obkom, were next to speak in the debate.

The congress took a decision to halt the debate on the Political Report and the Central Auditing Commission's Report.

Next to speak were the following members of the commission set up by the congress to prepare draft resolutions: Comrade Ye.K. Ligachev on the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th Party congress; Comrade A.N. Yakovlev on the new edition of the CPSU Program; Comrade G.P. Razumovskiy on the amendments to the CPSU Statutes.

The congress approved the party Central Committee political course and practical activity and the provisions, conclusions, and tasks contained in the Central Committee's Political Report to the congress, and it enjoined all party organizations to be guided by them in their work. The resolution of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress was adopted unanimously.

The congress unanimously approved the new edition of the CPSU Program and the text of the CPSU Statutes with the incorporated amendments.

The congress then approved the CPSU Central Auditing Commission's report.

The new statute on the CPSU Central Auditing Commission was approved unanimously.

The congress instructed the party Central Committee, together with the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, to draft on the basis of this statute a corresponding Statute on the Auditing Commissions of Republic, Kray, Oblast, Okrug, City, and Rayon Party Organizations.

Comrade Ryzhkov, who chaired the session, warmly congratulated Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on his 55th birthday on behalf of the congress participants.

Moscow TV on Sokolov Speech

LD011438 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Speech by S.L. Sokolov, minister of defense, at the 1 March session of the 27th CPSU Congress; from the "At the CPSU Congress" program]

[Text] At the morning session today, discussion of the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Auditing Commission report continues. First to speak in the debate was Comrade Sokolov, USSR minister of defense. He said, among other things:

[Begin Sokolov recording] The servicemen of the Army and Navy unanimously support the aims and tasks set in the political report, and fervently endorse the domestic and foriegn policy of the Communist Party and Soviet Government.

For 68 years the country's Armed Forces have stood up reliably in defense of the achievements of the October Revolution. On more than one occasion, they have been obliged to defend the independence of their homeland with weapons in hand. The great feat accomplished by the Soviet people and the servicemen of our Army and Navy on the battlefields of the Great Fatherland War will never be forgotten. In the postwar period the Armed Forces have always been and still remain the reliable guarantor of peace and the security of the socialist fatherland. [applause]

The threat of a new world war has hung over the world several times in the last 40 years. Plans for a nuclear attack on our country have been developed repeatedly in the United States. If so far imperialism could not bring itself to implement them, then this is above all because it was deterred by the military and economic might of our state and the inevitability of a counterstrike against the aggressor. In recent years, the imperialist states, proceeding from their aggressive policy, have stepped up military preparations even further. The basic point of these actions is to attain decisive military superiority over the Soviet Union and to obtain the possibility of threatening with a first nuclear strike. In this way, the real threat of war being unleashed on the Soviet Union and the other socialist is created. We cannot ignore this.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that however great the threat to peace created by the policy of imperialism's aggressive circles, there is no fatal inevitability of a world war, and the Soviet Union is waging an active and persistent struggle for peace, exerting enormous efforts to avoid war.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement of 15 January put forward a concrete and well-founded program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world, but how has the United States responded to the Soviet peace proposals?

A study of their reply shows it was not constructive in nature. It does not contain a soluton to the key question of principle regarding the prevention of arms race in space. Regarding strategic armaments and intermediate range nuclear systems the old U.S. proposal, calculated to obtain unilateral advantages, is repeated practically without alterations. The U.S. Administration has taken an openly negative position on the issue of banning nuclear weapons tests, which can only be assessed as Washington's striving to continue the nuclear arms race.

The experience of post-war years shows that the United States was the initiator of each new round in the arms race. The Soviet Union was forced to react in an appropriate way and, as we all know, each time found an adequate response. If we are forced again, an effective response from our side will be found also to space armaments, but that is not our choice. [applause] Taking all this into consideration, the new edition of the party program emphasizes that our party will make every effort for the armed forces to be at a level precluding military superiority of the forces of imperialism, so that the defense capability of the Soviet state is comprehensively improved.

Thanks to the concern shown by the party and the efforts made by the whole people, the Soviet Army and Navy are developing in line with the achievements of scientific and technical progress

and are equipped with first-class weapons and combat equipment. We express deep gratitude to our scientists, engineers and heroic working class for this. [applause]

I report to the party congress that the combat-readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy is being maintained at a proper level. They are ready to mete out a rebuff to any aggression, wherever it may originate. [applause]

The country's armed forces are developing as an inalienable element of the combat cooperation [boyevoye sodruzhestvo] between the armies of the socialist states which are members of the Warsaw Pact. Strengthening the unity of the fraternal armies, and their joint training for the defense of the gains of socialism will continue to be our constant concerns in raising their defense potential. Esteemed comrades, we well understand that the implementation of the majestic programs outlined by the 27th party congress will take place in a complicated international atmosphere and in a tense struggle between the forces of peace and progress on the one hand, and the forces of imperialist reaction on the other. Soviet servicemen are deeply aware of the great responsibility that they bear in these conditions. The Soviet Armed Forces, lavished with the concern of the whole people and guided by the Communist Party, will continue to stand vigilantly on guard of peace and the security of our fatherland. [applause] [end recording]

Sokolov Address

PM021515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 86 Second Edition p 6

["Speech by S.L. Sokolov, USSR Defense Minister" (*PRAVDA* headline) delivered at 1 March session of 27th CPSU Congress]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The 27th CPSU Congress is strengthening and developing still further the qualitatively new, landmark stage in the heroic struggle of our party and the Soviet people for the attainment of the great communist goals. It is resolving and defining the strategy and tactics of our actions under the new historical conditions.

All these questions being examined at the congress in the light of the changed disposition of sociopolitical forces in the world, when scientific and technical progress is offering people tremendous opportunities but at the same time is also giving imperialist reaction vain hopes of using the latest scientific and technical achievements to try once again to reverse the course of social development. This imparts an acute and complex character to the political processes taking place in the world, poses in a new way the problems of war and peace, and forges an even closer link between our domestic and foreign policy problems and national economic and defense tasks.

The party Central Committee's Political Report delivered by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave a thorough creative analysis of these complex trends, summarized the results of the great path we have traveled, revealed the unresolved problems, and clearly defined the propsects for our society's future development. Such a bold and lage-scale approach can only be undertaken by a party which is armed with the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, when the people have boundless faith in the party, and when the party's life is consonant with the interests of its people. (Applause) All the provisions of the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report are full of historic optimism and a profound belief in the correctness of our cause. They inspire each of us with a sense of legitimate pride in what has been done and unshakable confidence that what the party has planned can, must, and will be carried out!

Army and Navy servicemen unanimously support the aims and tasks set out in the Political Report and ardently approve the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and Soviet Government.

For 68 years the country's Armed Forces have reliably defended the gains of the October Revolution. More than once they have had to take up arms to defend their motherland's independence. No one will ever forget the great feat of the Soviet people and our Army and Navy servicemen on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. In the postwar period the Armed Forces have always been and remain the reliable guarantor of peace and the socialist fatherland's security. (Applause)

In the past 40 years the threat of a new world war had loomed over the world more than once. Plans for a nuclear attack on our country have repeatedly been hatched in the United States. And if imperialism has not yet dared to implement them, then that is primarily because it has been deterred by our state's military and economic might and the inevitability of counterstrikes against the aggressor.

In recent years the imperialist states, acting on the basis of their aggressive policy, have stepped up their war preparations more and more. The United States is intensively deploying ground-, air-, and sea-based strategic offensive forces and is developing [razrabotaka] weapons based on new physical principles. The number of U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe is increasing. The United States is reorganizing its armed forces with a view to considerably increasing their combat potential. Entire regions of the world, thousands of kilometers from the United States, are declared zones of its "national interests." The so-called "Rapid Deployment Force" is being actively prepared for piratical and aggressive actions in those regions.

Similar war preparations are also being carried out in the other NATO countries. That aggressive military bloc's total grouping of armed forces in Europe numbers over 3 million men, around 17,000 tanks, more than 4,000 warplanes, and more than 7,000 nuclear munitions. It is based on mass professional armies, which are being trained intensively. A particular danger is posed by the U.S. schemes to implement the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative," which envisages deploying strike weapons in space.

The main purpose of these actions is to gain a decisive military superiority over the USSR and secure the potential to threaten to deliver a first nuclear strike. In this way the real threat of the unleashing of war against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is being created. We cannot ignore that fact.

The CPSU proceeds from the premise that no matter how great

the threat to peace posed by the aggressive imperialist circles' policy, world war is not a fatal inevitability; and the Soviet Union is campaigning actively and persistently for peace and making tremendous efforts to prevent war. Comrade Gorbachev's 15 January statement put forward a concrete and well-substantiated program for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons in the world.

How did the United States respond to the Soviet peace initiatives? Familiarization with its response shows its lack of constructiveness. It contains no solution to the main, fundamental question — preventing an arms race in space. On strategic arms and medium-range nuclear means it repeats virtually unchanged the old U.S. proposal designed to secure unilateral advantages. The U.S. Administration has taken up a frankly negative stance on the question of banning nuclear weapon tests, which can only be viewed as Washington's desire to continue the nuclear arms race.

The experience of the postwar years demonstrates that each new round in the arms race has been initiated by the United States. The Soviet Union has been forced to react accordingly and, as is well known, has found a fitting reply each time. If we are forced to do so again, our side will also find an effective response to space arms. (Applause) But that will not be our choice.

In conditions whereby the imperialist states are not only rejecting our peace-loving proposals but are also intensifying their war preparations and openly proclaiming a course aimed at eliminating socialism as a social system, it is necessary, as the CPSU Central Committee's Political Report notes, to continue to combine organically in our policy the tireless struggle for peace with the readiness to firmly rebuff any aggression.

Lenin's tenet that imperialism is the source of wars and the threat of war is also true today. This requires that Soviet people and our Armed Forces show high vigilance and constant readiness to defend the socialist motherland.

In the past it was believed that states harboring aggressive plans are better prepared for war than peace-loving states. Even then it was impossible to accept this. But under modern conditions it is even less acceptable.

Taking all that into account, the draft new edition of the CPSU Program stresses that the CPSU will make every effort to ensure that the USSR Armed Forces are at a level which precludes the military superiority of the imperialist forces, and to ensure that the Soviet state's defense capability is comprehensively improved.

The cornerstone of the strengthening of the socialist motherland's defense is the Communist Party's leadership of military building and of the Armed Forces. Under its leading role policy in the sphere of the country's defense and Soviet military doctrine aimed at defense from external attack are formulated and implemented [Pri yeye rukovodyashchey roli vyrabatyvayutsya i osushchestvlyayutsya politika v oblasti oborony strany, sovetskaya voyennaya doktrina, napravlennaya na zashchitu ot napadeniya izvne]. I deem it my duty to report to the congress that the party Central Committee, the Politburo above all, and the Defense Council are constantly examining questions of Armed Forces building and training in a specific, thorough, and exacting way. The establishment of military equilibrium between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO was a convincing result of our party's activity and a historic achievement of socialism.

Thanks to the party's concern and the entire people's efforts, the Soviet Army and Navy are developing in accordance with the achievements of scientific and technical progress and are equipped with first-rate weapons and combat hardware. We express profound gratitude for this to our scientists, engineers, and heroic working class. (Applause)

The combat might of the Soviet state's Armed Forces is based on the strategic nuclear forces — the strategic missile troops and strategic forces of the Navy and Air Force — which are in constant readiness to deliver an immediate counterstrike.

The general-purpose forces — Ground Forces, Air Defense Forces, Air Force, and naval forces — are also developing within the limits necessary for defense. Conventional weapons have also changed fundamentally in postwar years. The firepower and maneuverability of formations of all branches of the Armed Forces have increased many times over.

But our remarkable servicemen are still the main strength of the Army and Navy. The standard of their education and development is increasing along with the country's socioeconomic development. Some 97 percent of personnel now have higher or secondary education. And 85 percent of personnel are party or Komsomol members. The Armed Forces' Communists are our party's reliable combat detachment. Representatives of all our motherland's nationalities and ethnic groups are serving in the ranks of the Army and Navy.

Devoted to the party and their people and armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, Soviet servicemen perform their military service selflessly and with a high sense of responsibility. They are courageously and worthily fulfilling their international duty within the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and many of them have been decorated with high state awards. (Applause)

I can report to the party congress that the Soviet Army and Navy's combat readiness is being maintained at the proper level. They are ready to repulse any aggression, whatever its source. (Applause)

While speaking about what has been acheived we do not forget at the same time that military matters are developing continuously and that the demands on the Armed Forces' combat readiness and training are increasing. The CPSU Central Committee April Plenum's decisions, the party's new course toward accelerating scientific and technical progress, the bold exposure of existing shortcomings and the elaboration of specific ways to resolve pressing problems, and increased exactingness, discipline, and responsibility have been adopted for strict execution in the Armed Forces.

In fulfilling the Politburo's instructions on improving party politi-

cal work, the personal demands on leading cadres have become stricter, as has party exactingness toward each leader for the situation in his assigned area. The greatest importance is attached to the cohesion of troop collectives and close relations between officers and personnel.

In training troops and naval forces the main emphasis is placed on further improving field, air, and sea instruction and on ensuring that training is as close as possible to actual combat conditions. Special attention is paid to reinforcing combat and moral qualities and the martial discipline of personnel and to physical training and the ability to overcome the difficulties typical of the modern battlefield.

Of course, not all young people drafted into the Army immediately become disciplined and tempered or ready to endure the burdens of military service. But Army service makes a combat formation out of them. It is an important element in the process of molding the Soviet man, a schooling in citizenship, the physical and spiritual tempering of young people, and their preparation for the defense of the motherland and for creative labor for the good of the people. The political and military training of personnel who are constantly being renewed requires determined and intensive work on the part of officers and party and Komsomol organizations.

In accordance with the CPSU Central Committee's requirements, the main efforts of party political work are also being directed toward resolving these tasks. Special attention is being paid to increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of that work in matters of observing communist morality and strengthening conscious troop discipline.

The USSR Armed Forces are developing as an inalienable part of the combat community of armies of the socialist states of the Warsaw Pact. The strengthening of the fraternal armies' unity and their joint preparation to defend socialism's gains will remain our constant concern in increasing our defense potential.

Our Armed Forces' indissoluble unity with the people is the inexhaustible source of their might. Historical experience shows that only the efforts of all the people led by the party can prepare for and ensure the socialist fatherland's successful defense. (Applause)

The provision of the draft new edition of the party program, which says that every Communist and every Soviet person must do everything in their power to maintain the country's defense capability at the proper level, is thus extremely important. Through the joint efforts of party, state, Komsomol, trade union, and other social organizations and public education organs we must ensure that young people are comprehensively prepared when they are drafted into the Armed forces. It is necessary to persistently improve working people's military-patriotic education and actively carry out mass defense work.

Esteemed comrades! We well realize that the implementation of the majestic programs outlined by the 27th party congress will take place in a complex international situation, in the tense struggle between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of imperialist reaction. Soviet servicemen are profoundly aware of the full extent of the responsibility resting on them under these conditions.

The Soviet Armed Forces, surrounded by nationwide concern and led by the Communist Party, will continue vigilantly guarding peace and our fatherland's security. Our people can be confident that their labor, inspired by the 27th CPSU Congress' decisions, will be reliably protected. (Applause)

6th Day of Congress Proceedings Begin 3 Mar

Morning Speakers Listed

LD031257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Text] At the morning session of the congress today discussion began of the basic guidelines of the country's economic and social development during the 12 5-Year Plan and until the year 2000. As we have already reported, Comrade Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the party Central Committee and chairman of the country's Council of Ministers, presented a report on this subject.

The following took part in the debate: Comrade Khristoradnov, first secretary, Gorkiy Obkom; Comrade Amanov, foreman of the Ali-Bairamli Drilling Work Directorate of the Azneft association; Comrade Frolov, vice president of the country's Academy of Sciences; Comrade Konarev, minister of railways.

Here at the Soviet Communists' forum speeches by foreign guests are continuing. The following delivered greetings to the congress: Bayard Arce Castano, head of the delegation of the Sandinistan Front for the National Liberation of Nicaragua and vice coordinator of the Executive Commission of the Front's national leadership; Rodney Arismendi, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

After that the morning session was completed.

Ryzhkov Speech

LD030721 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 3 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 3 TASS — The Draft Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1986-1990 and for the Period Ending in 2000 is an important political and economic document. Its pivot is the concept of acceleration advanced by the April Plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, said Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. He made a report on this subject today at the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The document on the guidelines is entirely consonant with the vital interests of Soviet people, with their hopes for the future, he said. This was shown by the truly country-wide magnitude of the discussion of the draft in which approximately 110 million citizens took part.

Summing up the results of the past five-year plan period (1981-1985), the speaker pointed out that by their work the Soviet

people made a considerable contribution to strengthening the country's economic might.

However, Nikolay Ryzhkov went on, work on the tasks [words indistinct] by the 26th congress proceeded in a complex situation. The unfavourable tendencies that surfaced in economic development in the 1970s grew sharper in the early 1980s rather than relaxing. The slowdown of the growth rates continued during the first two years. The quality indicators of economic management deteriorated. In 1982 the increment rate of industrial output was 33.4 per cent below the average of the period of the past five-year plan.

A number of factors made themselves felt here, said Nikolay Ryzhkov. The major causes of the shortcomings are that no account was taken in practical activity of the altered economic situation, connected with the exhaustion of the whole of the possibilities of extensive growth, and due persistence was not shown in using achievements of scientific and technical progress, in restructuring the national economy and management in line with demands of the time.

Besides, both in the centre and in the localities many leaders continued to act by outdated methods and proved to be unprepared for work in the new conditions. Discipline and order deteriorated to an intolerable level. There was fall in exactingness and responsibility. The vicious practice of the downward revision of plans became widespread.

After critically analysing the situation, the party took steps that gave a certain impulse to our progress. As a result, beginning in 1983, there were visible positive changes, and this somewhat compensated for the lag in the fulfilment of the 11th Five-Year Plan. During that period the national income rose 17 per cent and industrial output 20 per cent.

It should be stressed, Ryzhkov went on, that despite all the difficulties, the party made the maximum effort to achieve the plan targets for the growth of the living standard of the people. There was a rise of the mean monthly pay of factory and office workers, the social consumption funds were enlarged (they are used to finance free health care, education of all types, social security, etc.)

Though much was done in 1981-1985 the assignments of the five-year plan were not fully attained. Many industries were unable to reach the planned targets. The country did not receive the expected returns from the large resources invested in agriculture. There had to be basic changes, a profound restructuring.

Proposals envisaging all this, the speaker continued, are contained in the draft party document submitted for the consideration of the congress. It embraces the period ending in 2000. The choice of a 15-year period was made, in the first place, on account of the increased magnitude and complexity of the tasks confronting the country, tasks that require more than one or two five-year periods to be carried out.

In the couse of 15 years it is planned to double the national income and the industrial output. As a result, the economic potential that will be created will approximately equal what has been accumulated throughout all the preceding years of the Soviet power. However, it will be not just quantity that will change. The task is to reach new frontiers of efficiency in the national economy and to increase the pace of our advance. First, provision is made for giving the national income a more dynamic character (its increment rate is to rise from an annual average of 3.1 per cent in the past five-year period to 5 per cent). Second, a more balanced structure of production is to be formed. Third and the most important thing is that higher growth rates must be achieved on the basis of all-sided and consistent intensification.

Raising the productivity of social labour is, in the long run, the trunk [as received] direction for solving socialism's basic problems. The decisive step in carrying out the programme task bequeathed to us by Lenin, namely, to reach the highest world level, will be taken within the next 15 years. The guidelines provide for increasing labour productivity in the entire national economy 2.5-fold by the year 2000, Nikolay Ryzhkov went on.

An approach to meeting the economy's need for material resources will be fundamentally new. Whereas in preceding years this need was covered mainly by increasing production, the task for the long term is that 75-80 per cent of the growth in the demand in fuel, energy, raw and other materials will be met by husbanding these materials.

A new retooling of the national economy on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution is a task of truly historic significance.

Such are the aims and main tasks for the development of the economy and the promotion of the people's living standard that the party is setting for the long term, the speaker stressed.

Furthermore the head of the Soviet Government touched upon the problems of the 12th Five-Year Plan period (1986-1990) which will become a primary and extremely important stage in the practical implementation of the party's long-term economic strategy. During these years the increment in the national income will increase 60 per cent. As a result, in 1990 the national income will reach 614 billion roubles and the volume of industrial output will rise to one trillion roubles.

The guidelines envisage increasing the productivity of social labour 20-23 per cent as against 16.5 per cent in the past five-year period. 60-65 per cent of the growth of the demand in fuel and in raw and other materials will be met through the economy. As a result, in 1990 the saving of whole outlays will double in the national economy as a whole.

In the coming five years it is envisaged significantly to increase the absolute dimensions of the consumption fund that determines the Soviet people's standard of living. The speaker said that the increment in the consumption fund during the 12th five-year period will amount to 74 billion roubles compared with 55 billion roubles during the past five years.

Touching upon the questions of the advancement of science and technology the speaker said that the USSR has always paid special attention to them. In a short span of time we have built up a powerful scientific potential which has enabled us, at each

stage, to carry out major economic and defence tasks with success. It is no secret, however, that although we possess noteworthy R and D results and advanced ideas we often lag behind in the development of progressive technologies, including even some that were born in our country. This situation can only be explained by miscalculations made by ministries in their technological policy, and, at times, by their unwillingness to look ahead to tomorrow.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU in April 1985 and the June 1985 conference in the Central Committee of the CPSU forcefully posed the question of energetically eliminating the barriers standing in the way of scientific and technological progress, and of ensuring cardinal, revolutionary changes along all its directions.

Broad development of advanced production methods is one of the most important lines of scientific and technological progress. The speaker went on to say. In the coming five years we intend to expand the use of progressive technologies by 50 to 100 per cent.

Another avenue is automation and mechanisation of production. The level of automation in the national economy will double on the average. For example, the number of industrial robots is to be trebled during these five years.

Unlike capitalism, where, in the final analysis, the great achievements of science and technology aggravate the social contradictions, in the hands of the socialist state they are a powerful lever for transforming society. Here socialism has a historic advantage, and we must use it to the full.

Pointing out that rapid progress in science and technology calls for a continuous and growing renewal of scientific ideas and developments Nikolay Ryzhkov touched upon the questions of perfecting the work of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, college and university research, sectoral research, including those attached to factories.

Furthermore Nikolay Ryzhkov touched upon the investment policy, stressed its orientation on accelerating scientific and technological progress. The increase in capital investments is to be substantially greater in the current five-year period (up to 170 billion roubles, as compared to 125 billion roubles in 1981-1985). Total capital investments are to reach nearly one trillion roubles.

An important feature of the 12th Five-Year Plan period will be the considerable, 80 per cent, growth in capital investments in the engineering complex. That will lay the material foundation for accelerating scientific and technological progress, the speaker pointed out.

Among the key sectors, the fuel and energy complex will get special attention. A third of all capital investments will be allocated to the agro-industrial complex.

A characteristic feature of the new five-year plan is the emphasis it puts on retooling and modernising existing production facilities. The share of capital investments for these purposes is to grow from 37 per cent in 1985 to 50 per cent in 1990.

Touching upon the problems of raising the efficiency of capital construction the speaker said that many unresolved problems have accumulated in this sphere over the years. First and foremost, we must clamp down on the fragmentation of financial resources. More than 300,000 large and small construction projects are underway throughout the country. That is an impermissible number, even taking our enormous size into account. Projects are always put into operation later than scheduled as a consequence of fragmentation.

Speaking on the structural policy, the speaker pointed out that the most substantial changes are expected in engineering. By 1990 the annual renewal of engineering products is to be brought up to 13 per cent, as compared to 4.5 per cent in 1985.

Major shifts in the structure of the fuel-and-energy balance are also to be carried out. By the end of the five-year period nuclear power stations will nearly double their share of power production and will account for more than 20 per cent of the total amount generated.

The share of natural gas in the fuel and energy resources is to increase to 38 per cent of the total. The state of affairs in oil extraction, especially in West Siberia, requires substantial improvement. In the coal industry, open-cast mining, especially in the eastern regions, should be expanded. Retooling and modernisation of the collieries in the old coal mining areas, in the first place, in the Donetsk and Kuznetsk basins, should also be continued.

In 1986-1990 closer and better-coordinated interaction among the branches within the agro-industrial complex will be achieved. That must bring fruit. It is planned to bring the output of grain to 250-255 million tons and that of meat to 21 million tons. High assignments were set on other directions of implementing the Food Programme.

Great attention in our plans is paid to the consumer goods output targets. The task is to bring the light and local industries, services and trade to the forefront of technological progress, to accelerate the development of these branches. Thus, it is planned to increase the manufacture of consumer goods by 30 per cent over the coming five years, that is, to ensure a greater growth rate here than in industrial production as a whole, the speaker stressed.

He outlined plans for improving the deployment of the productive forces in the country and noted that each of the Soviet republics would make a substantial contribution to the economic growth of the country. The Draft Guidelines provide, in part, for the siting of energy-intensive industrial facilities near fuel and energy producers, first of all in Siberia, and for increasing the number of workplaces in regions having the requisite manpower resources, in particular in central Asian republics.

The speaker paid great attention to questions of improving the system of control and the methods of management. He pointed out that the need for improving the system of control was in many ways underestimated until recently. The bias for old, mainly administrative methods kept taking the upper hand. The sluggishness of thought inevitably engendered stagnation in work.

The party, Nikolay Ryzhkov said, has drawn the due conclusions. In the coming years we will have to persevere in developing an integrated system of control, to consistently adjust the elements of the economic mechanism, and look for more effective forms and methods of planning, and of stimulating and organising production.

The speaker said that one of the most important tasks in these five years is to introduce new methods of management in all branches of the economy. By now enterprises turning out half of the industrial products are operating along new lines (in conditions of experiment), and as of 1987, all industrial enterprises, and transport as well, will operate on these principles.

Commenting on the importance of cost accounting, he noted that its principles — the direct dependence of remuneration for work on its results, the impossibility to offset mismanagement in some places with good performance in other, an end to the petty tutelage of work collectives and others — should become a rule of work for Soviet enterprises. The country is expecting a good deal from industrial ministries too and the tasks for them are formulated in a new way: they should become the headquarters of scientific and technical progress in their sectors.

Turning to external economic relations, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR stressed the urgent need of the energetic expansion of economic, scientific and technological contacts between states and their participation in the international division of labour.

He noted that the basis of the external economic relations of the USSR was its interaction with the CEMA member countries and stated that the USSR also stood for cooperation with developed capitalist states.

Here we see considerable potentialities, said the head of the Soviet Government. And that applies to practically all types of relations — commercial, scientific, technical, finance and credits, and so on. To be sure, cooperation has got to be two-way. Here, mutual interest must be strictly considered, and all restrictions, boycotts and embargoes completely renounced. In the modern world, economic relations can only be based on equal rights, trust, and strict observance of mutual agreements. To behave contrary to this, subordinating commercial and economic ties to unseemly political aims is tantamount to trying to hold up world progress. The experience of history has shown that such attempts are futile.

Then the speaker touched upon the questions of social development and improvement of the people's well-being in the 12th five-year period. The growth of the economy and of its efficiency, as envisaged in the current five-year plan, is laying a reliable basis for a substantial advance in carrying out the programme objectives of the CPSU, those of raising the standard of living of Soviet people to a qualitatively new level.

The report examined in detail problems of serious changes in the conditions, character and content of labour. In the new five-year period the scale and rate of the reduction of manual, unskilled labour must be raised by at least 100 to 200 per cent. The technical retooling of production is also directed to improving the conditions of labour.

It is a task of tremendous social and economic significance to step up the impact of the system of remuneration, the speaker went on. New basic rates and salaries in the various fields of material production will be introduced practically in just five years. They are to be raised an average of 25 to 30 per cent. The wages and salaries of people employed in non-productive fields — teachers, doctors and other medical personnel, employees at cultural institutions and higher establishments — will be raised.

Special importance has always been attached in the USSR to the improvement of conditions for the life and education of children, Nikolay Ryzhkov continued. The assistance given by the state to families with children will be expanded and further developed in the next five-year period. In particular the paid one-year leave to mothers to look after children will be extended by another half a year and all medicines for children up to three years of age will be free. The problem of accommodations at preschool child-care centres will be resolved within the next few years.

The solution of the housing problem is a matter of constant concern for the party. Good results have already been achieved here but the problem remains acute. It is planned to build new housing totalling 565-570 million square metres during the five years.

Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, noted that the tasks the country has set out to accomplish meet the vital interests of the Soviet people and said in conclusion that their fulfilment meant the further strengthening of the potential of the Soviet country and the consolidation of the positions of socialism and peace on earth.

Gorbachev, Others Meet With Foreign Delegations

Gorbachev, Ceausescu Meet

LD281738 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] A meeting took place today between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who leads the Romanian Communist Party delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress.

The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party declared that he regarded highly the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress and the Political Report presented by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and expressed his wishes for the complete success of the work of the congress, which is of great significance for the implementation of the programs of socialist and communist construction in the USSR and for the common cause of socialism and peace.

During the conversation, mutual satisfaction was expressed at the increasing development of cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Romanian Communist

Party, and between the USSR and Romania. The prospects for expanding economic relations in the priority areas of scientific and technical progress on a bilateral basis, as well as on the basis of the integrated program of the CEMA member-countries, were examined.

The sides agreed that the appropriate bodies of the two countries should continue their work to seek new opportunities for expanding economic and production cooperation.

The Soviet and Romanian leaders reaffirmed the unvarying nature of both parties' policy of the deepening Soviet-Romanian relations in all spheres of life on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

The parties to the meeting were of the unanimous view that the development of the international situation calls urgently for the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries, energetic and coordinated action by the member-states of the Warsaw Pact, purposful efforts by all peaceable forces, and the development of a productive political dialogue between states with different social systems.

An exchange of views took place on ways of implementing the program of the elimination of nuclear weapons everywhere by the end of the present century, which the Soviet Union has advanced. The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party again reaffirmed Romania's full support for this program and stressed the need to step up efforts towards disarmament and the strengthening of peace and international security.

The significance was noted of the creation in various areas of Europe and the world, including the Balkans, of zones free from nuclear and chemical weapons — something which would be of great importance in the cause of ridding humanity of these particularly dangerous types of weapons of mass destruction.

The meeting took place in an atmosphere of friendship, frankness, and mutual understanding.

Gorbachev, Jaruzelski Hold Talks

LD011824 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 1 TASS — A friendly meeting was held today between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski who heads the PUWP delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed the scope of the tasks discussed by the congress, the outstanding international importance of the new edition of the CPSU Programme which embodies the experience of nearly seventy years of socialist construction in the USSR.

The Polish leader described the PUWP's activity on strengthening the positions of socialism in the country, preparations for the 10th party congress, on the course of debates on the draft programme and other documents to be submitted to the highest party forum.

Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed solidarity of the CPSU, the Soviet people with the efforts by Polish Communists, working people to strengthen socialist gains, and a readiness to continue support to them in the name of attaining this objective.

The meeting's participants noted with satisfaction the successful development of all-round Soviet-Polish ties and defined prospects for their further consolidation. They emphasised the need for vigorous work on a bilateral and multilateral basis in order to implement the comprehensive programme of scientific and technical progress of CMEA member countries through the year 2000, which will facilitate the acceleration of economic development of the two countries and the advancement of the entire socialist community to new levels.

Dwelling on topical international problems, the sides stressed the USSR's and Poland's firm determination to actively press together with other Warsaw Treaty member states for a radical improvement of the European and world situation, for ensuring security for all peoples and their inalienable right to free self-determination. On behalf of the PUWP and the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski expressed heartfelt support for the CPSU's programme of eliminating nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation, terminating the arms race on earth and preventing its spread into outer space.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of brotherhood, cordiality and mutual understanding.

Gorbachev, Zhivkov Talks Held

LD282020 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1845 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (TASS) — Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met today with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee and chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Council of State, who heads the BCP delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress.

During the conversation that took place a high assessment was made of the all-round cooperation between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and between the CPSU and the BCP, and issues of the implementation of accords achieved at meetings in Moscow in June and Sofia in October 1985 were examined. Particular attention was paid to enhancing the effectiveness of economic and scientific-technological cooperation and the utilization of modern forms of economic coproduction in the interests of speeding up the socioeconomic development of both countries. The USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria expressed their readiness to promote in every way the resolution of qualitatively new tasks of the economic integration of socialist community countries.

In the examination of international problems stress was placed on the topicality of the measures for the normalization of the situation in the world which were formulated at the Sofia con-

ference of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member-states. Todor Zhivkov expressed the resolve of socialist Bulgaria to cooperate closely with the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries for the cause of implementing the new Soviet proposals aimed at liberating mankind from the threat of self-destruction. Mikhail Gorbachev noted the importance of the efforts of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in forming a climate of good-neighborliness in the Balkans, and expressed his support for the initiative of setting up in this area a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons.

The Bulgarian leader appraised highly the work of the 27th CPSU Congress, and reported on the activity of Bulgaria's Communists and working people in preparing for the 13th BCP Congress. The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee wished the Bulgarian Communists success in holding the forthcoming party congress.

The meeting passed in the atmosphere of unity, cordiality, and fraternal friendship that permeates relations between the CPSU and the BCP and between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria.

Gorbachev, Kadar Meet
LD281801 Moscow TASS in English 1548 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 28 TASS — Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP), had a friendly meeting today.

During the conversation Janos Kadar spoke highly of the work of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and of the creative discussion of the programme documents at the congress, the documents which are asserting a course of accelerating the socio-economic development of the USSR, of raising the guiding role of the party of developing socialist self-government of the Soviet people and of struggling for stronger peace and international security.

The leaders of the two parties stressed the importance of energetic concerted actions of the Warsaw Treaty member states with a view to radically improving the situation in Europe and the world. New wide opportunities for that have been provided by the Soviet initiatives set out in Mikhail Gorbachev's January 15 statement. The Soviet Union's and Hungary's mutual determination in every way to strengthen the cohesion of the countries of the socialist community and cooperation of all progressive, peaceable forces in the interests of international security and lasting peace was expressed.

Having exchanged views on some matters of Soviet-Hungarian relations, Mikhail Gorbachev and Janos Kadar reaffirmed mutual striving to continue to develop comradely cooperation between the CPSU and the HSWP and between the USSR and Hungary, relying on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, striving for its higher quality and effectiveness and for more active introduction of new forms and methods, particularly in the priority fields of scientific and technological progress.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of unity, cordiality and fraternal friendship characteristic of relations between the CPSU and the HSWP.

Gorbachev-Castro Meeting Reported
LD021430 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 2 TASS — Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has had a meeting with Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

The Cuban leader spoke highly of the work of the 27th CPSU Congress and the documents discussed by it. He stressed that the ideas put forward in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress and in the new edition of the CPSU Program were important not only to the USSR but also to the understanding of the prospects of socialism as a world social system. These ideas will evoke broad responses from the peoples of the developing countries as well.

Fidel Castro outlined plans for the implementation of the major decisions taken by the 3rd congress of the Communist Party of Cuba. Mikhail Gorbachev wished the Cuban Communists success in fulfilling the extensive program of economic and social development put forward by the congress for the construction of socialism in cuba.

The leaders of the two fraternal parties voiced their satisfaction with the successful growth of Soviet-Cuban contacts in every field of social life. They reviewed ways to improve the efficiency of economic cooperation between the two countries in the context of the opportunities offered by the long-term program for the economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Cuba to the year 2000.

The Soviet side stressed continuous support for the efforts of the government and people of Cuba to ensure the security of their country in the face of the threats and acts of provocation of U.S. imperialism. Fidel Castro voiced profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their constant solidarity with the Cuban revolution.

The sides exchanged opinions on a broad range of urgent international problems. Fidel Castro reaffirmed Cuba's unconditional support for the program to eliminate nuclear weapons, formulated by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee in his statement on January 15, and said that Cuba considered it fresh proof of the inseparable relationship between socialism and peace.

The leaders of the two fraternal parties strongly denounced the imperialist concept of "new globalism," which amounted to nothing short of open intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign countries and an attempt to deny the peoples the right freely to decide their destinies. They stressed the need to act in close unity with the other socialist countries, non-aligned states and all the peace forces to mount struggle for averting the nuclear threat and for the political settlement of conflicts in different

parts of the world, to give assistance to the peoples standing up for their freedom and independence and to contribute to the restructuring of international relations on a fair and democratic basis.

The conversation passed in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and unity of views on all the questions under consideration.

Gorbachev, Batmonh Assess Congress

LD011753 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 1 TASS — General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic Jambyn Batmonh had a meeting here today.

Jambyn Batmonh highly assessed the work of the 27th CPSU Congress and the international significance of the new edition of the party programme. He expressed full support for the extensive and constructive concept of ensuring peace on earth, social progress and national liberation of peoples, advanced at the congress.

Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that Soviet Communists, all Soviet people are following with brotherly interest the constructive activity of Mongolian working people, the preparations for the 19th congress of the MPRP which, undoubtedly, will become an important landmark in the country's life.

During an exchange of views on questions of Soviet-Mongolian relations, the sides noted with satisfaction the successful course of the implementation of the accords reached at the highest level in August 1985. Special attention was given to practical measures for enhancing the effectiveness of economic and scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Mongolia in the new five-year period.

The discussion of topical international problems confirmed the unity of views and assessments of the world situation and ways for its radical improvement. The determination was expressed to continue deepening the interaction between the two countries in the interests of strengthening the positions of world socialism, in the struggle for peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region and the world at large.

The meeting was held in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

Ryzhkov, Angola's Dos Santos Meet

LD271656 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 27 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 27 TASS — A meeting between Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] — Workers' Party, president of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), who is heading the Angolan party delegation at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, took place in the Kremlin today. Taking part in the meeting were Geydar Aliyev, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Pascoal Luvualu, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA-Workers' Party.

During a warm and comradely conversation, Jose Eduardo dos Santos pointed out a great international importance of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, and said that the Soviet Union's achievements and the prospects for the development of the Soviet Union, which are being mapped out by the congress, inspire all fighters for the cause of peace, for national and social progress, against imperialism. The Angolan leader voiced conviction that the implementation of the Soviet peace proposals set out in the January 15, 1986, statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, for the cretion of an all-embracing system of international security would make it possible to radically improve the international situation and to do away with nuclear weapons for ever.

Nikolay Ryzhkov stated the CPSU's invariable solidarity with the MPLA-Workers' Party's efforts aimed at strengthening the independence and sovereignty of Angola, and at building a new society. He condemned the policy of interference and aggression which is being pursued against the PRA by the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa and by imperialist forces headed by the United States. It was emphasized that the Angolan people, who are courageously upholding the chosen way of development, can, as before, firmly count on support on the part of the Soviet Union.

A number of matters aimed at further widening Soviet-Angolan cooperation in various fields were considered.

There was an exchange of views on some international problems, including the situation in the south of Africa. The participants in the meeting expressed solidarity with the just struggle which the peoples of Namibia and South Africa are waging under the leadership of SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the African National Congress (ANC) for freedom and independence.

Kuznetsov Receives Zambia's Zulu

LD011802 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1553 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, 1 Mar (TASS) — A meeting took place today in the Kremlin between Vasiliy Kuznetsov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with Alexander Grey Zulu, head of the delegation of the United National Independence Party of Zambia (UNIP) at the 27th CPSU Congress and UNIP general secretary.

The head of the Zambian delegation expressed his support for the integrated program for a total elimination of nuclear weapons before the end of the present century which is contained in the January statement of CPSU Central Committee General Secre-

tary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, as well as the plan for creating an all-embracing system of international security set forth in the CPSU Central Committee Political Report at the congress.

Vasiliy Kuznetsov stressed the significance of uniting in present conditions the efforts of all states and peoples with the aim of drawing the threat of a nuclear catastrophe away from mankind and curbing the arms race. There was a statement about the true solidarity of the Soviet Union with the just struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for their freedom and independence. The sides expressed their mutual satisfaction at the state of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Zambia and the CPSU and UNIP.

Oblast Officials Meet Delegates

LD012151 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting between foreign guests and the party aktiv of Moscow Oblast took place in Moscow at the Oktyabr Cinema and Concert Hall. They were welcomed by Comrade Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow Obkom; Comrade (?Postnikov), skilled production trainer from the Elektrostal works; and Comrade (Filipova), skilled milk machine operator from the (?Petrovskiy) state pedigree farm. This meeting, they noted, was yet further evidence of the vitality of internationalism and ideas of solidarity and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the present day. On behalf of their delegations, addresses were given by Ojeda, secretary general of the Communist Party of Venezuela; by Muhri, chairman of the Communist Party of Austria; Kleven, chairman of the Communist Party of Norway; Werner, chairman of the Party of the Left (Communists) of Sweden; Harmel, first secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party; Aalto, chairman of the Communist Party of Finland; Yata, general secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco; Pires, deputy general secretary of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde and prime minister of the republic; Nujoma, president of the South West African People's Organization. Those who spoke expressed deep gratitude to the Soviet people and the CPSU, which is doing everything to strengthen peace and friendship between the peoples and standing at the head of the struggle for liberation from the fetters of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racialism.

PZPR Delegates, Amity Society Meet

PM281226 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 86 Second Edition p 8

[TASS report under the general heading "Cordial, Fraternal Meetings"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place between the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress and the leadership of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society. The Polish comrades were familiarized with the society's activity in 1985 and its tasks and prospects for the period ahead.

Delegation head W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, thanked the society's activists for the great contribution they are making to the further consolidation of Soviet-Polish friendship and wished them new successes in the noble cause of developing and deepening ties between the peoples of the two fraternal countries.

Soviet Leaders, Guests Attend Moscow Sports Festival

LD021740 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1555 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Excerpt] Moscow, 2 Mar (TASS) — A sports festival held today in Moscow in the Olimpiyskiy sports complex was devoted to the delegates attending the 27th CPSU Congress.

Present at the festival were Comrades G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, D.A. Kunayev, Ye.K Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin V.V. Kuznetsov, B.N. Ponomarev, S.I. Sokolov, N.V. Talyzin, L.N. Zaykov, M.V. Zimyanin, I.V. Kapitonov, V.P. Nikonov. With them in the box were leaders of the fraternal parties of socialist countries Comrades T. Zhivkov, J. Kadar, K. Phomvihan, J. Batmonh, and W. Jaruzelski.

Those gathered greeted them with applause. Children representing the union republics brought flowers to the leaders of the Communist Party and of the Soviet state, and to the guests.

In the hall were guests of the 27th CPSU Congress: heads and members of delegations of communist and workers' revolutionary-democratic, socialist, social-democrat, labor, and other parties, and representatives of democratic public organizations.

Sokolov Receives Servicemen Attending Congress

PM261630 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Feb 86 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Meeting With Congress Delegates"]

[Text] A meeting was held yesterday, on the eve of the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress, between Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, and Army and Navy servicemen attending the congress as delegates.

The meeting was attended by USSR deputy defense ministers, members of military councils and chiefs of political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces, and other Soviet military chiefs.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, USSR defense minister, cordially congratulated those assembled on their election as delegates to the 27th Communist Party Congress. We regard this, he said, as an expression of the party's great trust in the Soviet Armed Forces. The honor of representing at party forums Army and Navy Communists and those who, weapon in hand,

ensure the reliable security of our motherland obliges us to spare no effort to further strengthen the combat readiness of the Army and Navy.

On behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.L. Sokolov, USSR defense minister, then presented a group of marshals, admirals, and officers with state awards for successes in combat and political training and exemplary execution of military duty.

The recipients expressed their fervent gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government for the high estimation of their martial labor.

Gromyko Presents Awards to Foreign Delegates
LD020330 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Speech by Andrey A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, at 1 March Kremlin award ceremony honoring foreign party officials — read by announcer]

[Text] In the Kremlin today, Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium presented high Soviet State awards to a number of fraternal party leaders attending the 27th CPSU Congress. These comrades were awarded Soviet orders for their services in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress; for their major contribution to the consolidation of friendship between the Soviet people and the peoples of their countries; as well as in connection with anniversaries in their lives.

The Order of Lenin was presented to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, 'Aziz Mohammad and to the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina Athos Fava; the Order of the October Revolution was presented to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party Jorge del Prado; the Order of Friendship Among Peoples was presented to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party Giocondo Dias, to the General Secretary of the Guadeloupe Communist Party Guy Daninche, and to the Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Syrian Communist Party Yusuf Faysal.

Speaking to those awarded, Comrade Gromyko said: I have just had the opportunity to carry out an honorable duty, to present, here in the Kremlin, lofty state awards of our country to leaders of a number of fraternal communist parties. You, dear comrades, have been awarded on the occasion of jubilee dates in your life. At the same time these awards mark your great contribution to the struggle for the interests of the working people of your countries against imperialism, for peace and social progress. This is also a tribute to your services to the international communist movement.

In this Kremlin Hall we see representatives of countries of Latin America and the Middle East. It is in these regions that there is acute conflict between the forces of social and national liberation and the forces of imperialism, primarily of the United States.

You, Comrade 'Aziz Mohammad, are leader of a party which operates in the especially difficult conditions of the continuing Iraq-Iran conflict. In this complex situation the Iraqi Communist Party consistently comes out for the interests of the working people, against the policy of imperialism, for immediate cessation of the Iraq-Iran war.

Comrade Athos Fava, under your leadership Argentine Communists, in the new conditions since the fall of the military dictatorship, and the coming to power of the civilian government, have been doing great work to strengthen the influence of the party among the masses and for the independent and democratic development of the country.

You, Comrade Jorge del Prado, are guiding the activity of the Peruvian Communists in the difficult situation wherein the government, which is trying to limit the plundering of the country by foreign monopolies, is coming under powerful pressure from the imperialist circles.

In the most difficult years of the military regime, you, Comrade Giocondo Dias, headed the work of the Brazilian Communist Party underground. And you are heading it now, as the party, which has emerged into the arena of active legal political activity, faces fresh tasks.

We know, Comrade Guy Daninche, of your great contribution to the struggle of the working people of Guadeloupe for national and social liberation. We highly appreciate this.

You, Comrade Yusuf Faysal, give all your energy, knowledge, and experience to the noble cause of the struggle for security of your people and for the interests of the working masses of Syria. Your contribution to the struggle against the designs of the imperialist forces, which are trying to obstruct the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is well known.

It is momentous that the presentation of the awards is taking place during the 27th CPSU Congress. We are confident that this congress opens up a fresh historic stage in the life of our country. At the same time our congress will undoubtedly boost further development of the theory and practice of the communist movement, the peoples' liberation struggle, and the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. The CPSU highly appreciates the support you are giving to the course taken by our party and to our foreign policy initiatives. Your parties' cooperation with the CPSU is based on the principles of internationalist solidarity and is an important factor of social progress.

Allow me on behalf of our party's Central Committee, of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and of the Soviet Government to warmly congratulate you on the awards. It affords special satisfaction to convey to you the most cordial congratulations and best wishes for successes in your noble work from General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Please also accept our sincerest wishes for successes to your party comrades. Health to you, your nearest, and your families.

The common struggle of Communists for peace, for that peace which Lenin considered the ideal of socialism, must be crowned with success.

The leaders of the fraternal parties who were awarded the Soviet orders expressed heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to the Soviet Government for the high appreciation of their work and struggle.

TV Report on Presentation

LD020004 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Mar 86

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In the Kremlin today, Comrade Gromyko presented lofty state awards of our country to the leaders of a number of fraternal parties who have come to attend the 27th CPSU Congress. They have been awarded Soviet orders for services in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress; for their major contribution to the consolidation of friendship between the Soviet people and the peoples of their countries; and in connection with anniversaries in their lives.

The Order of Lenin was presented to 'Aziz Mohammad, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, and to Athos Fava, general secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina; the Order of the October Revolution was presented to Jorge del Prado, general secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party Central Committee; the Order of Friendship of Peoples was presented to Giocondo Dias, general secretary of the Brazilian Communist Party Central Committee, Guy Daninche, general secretary of the Guadeloupe Communist Party and to Yusuf Faysal, deputy general secretary of the Syrian Communist Party Central Committee. Having warmly congratulated those receiving the awards, Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko said:

[Begin Gromyko recording] You, dear comrades, have been given awards in connection with anniversaries in your lives. At the same time, these awards mark your great contribution in the struggle for the interests of the working people of your countries, against imperialism, and for peace and social progress. They are also in recognition of your services to the international communist movement.

In this Kremlin Hall we see representatives of the countries of Latin America and the Near East. It is precisely in these regions that an acute confrontation is under way between the forces of social and national liberation and the forces of imperialism, first and foremost the United States.

The CPSU values highly the support which you render to the course taken by our party and to our foreign policy initiatives. Cooperation between your parties and the CPSU, founded upon the principles of international solidarity, is an important factor of social progress. [applause] [end recording]

The leaders of the fraternal parties, having recieved their awards, expressed cordial gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Soviet Government for the lofty appraisal of their labor and struggle.

Reportage on Activities of Foreign Delegates

Ceausescu Visits Factory

LD281910 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, February 28 TASS — "The tasks for the economic and social development of the Soviet Union, for the strengthening of the party guidance and for a further refinement of socialist democracy, which were set out in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU are of particular importance. Their accomplishment will be an important step on the way towards building a communist society", said Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party (PCR), president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. He spoke today at a meeting which took place at Moscow's automatic lines manufacturing plant the personnel of which played host to the PCR delegation attending the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that the Romanian Communists are gratified with the strides made by the Soviet Union in the building of a developed socialist society. "Strong friendly relations of cooperation, based on the joint striving for socialism and for peace throughout the world, have developed between the PCR and the CPSU, between the peoples of the two countries", the speaker emphasized.

In his speech the PCR general secretary greeted and fully supported the new Soviet peace initiatives which are aimed at fully eliminating all types of nuclear weapons before the end the current millennium, pointing out their topicality in the present-day complex international situation. He specially emphasized the need to intensify joint actions to step up struggle for the prevention of militarisation of outer space, against the U.S. "star wars" plans.

Nicolae Ceausescu spoke of the implementation of the decisions of the 13th Congress of the PCR and of the plans of the eighth five-year period by the working people of the Socialist Republic of Romania. He wished those present new labour successes in the realisation of important decisions which the 27th Congress of the CPSU will take.

Jaruzelski Visits Lithuania

LD282056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Jerzy Bockowski report]

[Text] The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress spent a whole day today in the capital of Soviet Lithuania. On this journey our delegation is accompanied by Petras Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania. We arrived in Vilnius a few minutes before 1100. The delegation went straight from the airport to the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania.

During the meeting with authorities of the republic, Wojciech Jaruzelski reported on the preparations to the 10th PZPR Congress. Pyatras Grishkyavichus spoke about the achievements and the prospects for development of Soviet Lithuania.

Next, Wojciech Jaruzelski laid flowers at the monument to Vladimir Lenin. The Polish delegation was given a cordial welcome at the State Pedagogical Institute of Vilnius. The graduates of the literature and Polish-language departments teach in schools where Polish is taught and work for a paper which is published in Polish here, as well as for radio, tourist agencies, and other institutions.

Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed in his speech that the activity of the institute constitutes one of the examples of the implementation in the Soviet Union of the Leninist nationalities policy. The leader of the Polish delegation gave the institute four different editions of the Pan Tadeusz and an ornamental box containing the image of the Royal Castle in Warsaw. The [name indistinct] song and dance ensemble gave thanks with a few songs in Polish, in Lithuanian, and in Russian.

The first item of the afternoon program was a visit to the Vilnius computing equipment enterprise. Apart form computers this enterprise produces industrial robots and manipulators. During the meeting with the factory's workforce, Wojciech Jaruzelski said in part:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Esteemed comrades and dear friends, I greet you cordially in the name of our party and on behalf of Polish society. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to meet you, the representatives of the working people of Socialist Lithuania. We are impressed with the modernity of the Vilnius computing equipment factory named after Lenin of the Lithuanian [name indistinct] production amalgamation, its production results, the high qualifications and the cordiality of the people working here.

Esteemed comrades, the history of Polish-Lithuanian relations is long and the memory of the historic victory of Grunwald is vivid, as well as the traditions of the joint struggle against the Tatar and Teutonic invaders. The friendship of the best sons of our nations, patriots, democrats, and revolutionaries constitutes a noble page in history.

Dear friends, there are many of your citizens of Polish nationality living in the Lithuanian SSR and in particular in Vilnius and nearby regions. They actively participate in the social, economic, scientific, and cultural development of Soviet Lithuania. [Word indistinct] the papers the *CZERWONY SZTANDAR* and also the achievements of the Vilnius Pedagogical Institute, including the Polish language and literature. There are over 100 schools teaching in Polish in your republic; there are artistic ensembles active here. Your internationalist solicitude for the joint cultural achievements (?and) the class, Leninist attitude to the nationalities question are the tribute to the Communist Party of Lithuania and your whole nation.

Long live the unbreakable alliance and fraternal friendship of the Polish People's Republic and the USSR! [applause] Long live, and become more profound the friendship and cooperation of the Polish People's Republic and the Lithuanian SSR, the fraternal nations of Poland and Lithuania, and long live peace and socialism! [end recording]

In the evening the Polish delegation visited the new editorial office building of the *CZERWONY SZTANDAR*. This is the paper which is published in Vilnius in Polish and which is the organ of the Communist Party of Lithuania. Tomorrow the Polish delegation will continue its visit to Vilnius.

Zhivkov Visits Moscow Plant

AU281452 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Martin Minkov report from Moscow]

[Text] Today's congress proceedings are continuing. The official program of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] delegation is very full. At the moment Comrade Todor Zhivkov is visiting the Moscow machine builders at the "Krasniy Proletariy" plant.

Kadar Visits Moscow Exhibition

LD021601 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Jozsef Havel report]

[Text] Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], laid a wreath on behalf of the Hungarian party delegation attending the 27th CPSU Congress at the plaque commemorating Bela Kun in Kalinin Prospect. Thereafter the delegation visited the "We Are Building Communism" exhibition, where the most prestigious works of Soviet art are on display. Janos Kadar and the delegation were escorted around the exhibition by Yevgeniy Zaytsev, first deputy minister of culture. Nikolay Ponomarev, chairman of the USSR Union of Artists, was also present. In the workshop of the exhibition young Soviet artists painted portraits of Janos Kadar and Gyorgy Lazar. Following the visit to the exhibition, the delegation went on to the recently reconstructed, splendid Arbat.

Honecker Visits Exhibition

LD021733 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1320 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Excerpts] Moscow, 2 Mar (ADN) — The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress, led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State today visited the "science-technology-production" exposition in Moscow at the economic exhibition.

The SED delegation was accompanied on its tour by Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Vadim Sayushev, director of the economic exhibition, explained the character of the special show. Among the exhibits are

computer-controlled work places for planning and controlling whole factory sections, processing centers and complete automated production lines, products and models, and systems solutions for processes in production and other social fields, including local economy, traffic, education, and health matters.

Erich Honecker noted in the visitors' book that the SED delegation was deeply impressed by the resolute approach of the Soviet scientists, engineers, and workers to the task of speeding up the tempo of socialist construction.

Husak Visits Art Exhibition

LD021547 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 2 Mar 86

[Text] The CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress led by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, this morning visited an exhibition "We Are Building Communism" to mark the 27th congress. The exhibition in the Moscow Central Exhibition Hall is a rich display of Soviet art, and approximately 1,000 top artists from all union republics are represented there. The creative account of the Soviet artistic front gives a representative overview of the development of creative art of the Soviet nations in the last 5 years.

Accompanied by National Artist Nikolay Ponomarev, chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Artists, the Czechoslovak quests saw the works of Soviet artists, many of which are delegates to the 27th congress. Gustav Husak spoke highly of the ideological content of Soviet art which draws from the rich cultural traditions of the nations of the Soviet Union. As he said, the exhibition "We Are Building Communism" is an effective expression of social involvement, and it shows that Soviet culture imbued with socialist humanism plays an important role in the formation of the ideological and moral profile of the Soviet people. After seeing the exhibition the highest Czechoslovak representative, Gustav Husak, expressed his appreciation of the work of Soviet artists when signing the visitors' book.

PRAVDA on Exhibition Visitors

PM271708 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 86 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegations' Visit"]

[Text] The SED delegation headed by E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] delegation which are attending the 27th CPSU Congress visited Moscow's Central Exhibition Hall on 24 February. The guests viewed the All-Union art exhibition "We Are Building Communism," representing the creative report to the 27th CPSU Congress by the masters of Soviet fine art. It contains over 2,000 paintings, drawings, and sculptures depicting the development of multinational Soviet culture.

The members of the CPV delegation visited the exhibition entitled "The Economic and Social Development of the countryside — the Most Important Condition for implementing the USSR Food Program" at the USSR exhibition of National Economic Achievements.

The guests viewed exhibits showing improvement in the material and technical base of the USSR agro-industrial complex, the chemicalization and mechanization of agricultural work, industrial feed production techniques, land reclamation, and the agricultural production equipment supply service.

The Workers Party of Korea [WPK] delegation headed by Kang Song-san, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo and premier of the DPRK Administrative Council, visited the exhibition entitled "Science-Technology-Production" at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. The exhibits on show there reflect the party's most important requirement — to view the tasks of science from the star point of its resolute orientation toward the needs of social production and of production's orientation toward science.

Members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party delegation visited the new exhibition on display at the Kremlin Armory.

Guests Visit Leningrad

LD010007 Moscow TASS in English 2335 GMT 28 Feb 86

[Text] Leningrad, February 28 TASS — The hall of the Smolnyy Palace in Leningrad where Lenin proclaimed the formation of the world's first state of workers and peasants in October 1917 was today the place of the meeting of Leningrad Communists with foreign guests of the 27th CPSU Congress.

"Peoples of the whole world await decisions of your congress. They will become a valuable contribution to the development of Soviet society, to the consolidation of socialism and assertion of the principles of the progress of peoples, of the defence and consolidation of peace", Giocondo Dias, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil, said at the meeting. He said that political struggle in Brazil is being waged in extremely difficult social and economic conditions. "We hold that now, in the period of transition from the dictatorship, conditions are being created for enlisting the working class and all democratic forces of the country to the struggle for the democratisation of Brazilian society, for effective anti-imperialist policy", he said.

Those present in the hall welcomed with applause representative of the fighting people of southern Africa Maurice Nyagumbo, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, executive secretary of the Zimbabwe African National Union — Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). He said the oppressed peoples of southern Africa are determined to wage the struggle for their rights. "We express gratitude to the USSR and other socialist states for a firm assistance and support we are getting", he said.

Gilberto Ghiotti, the general secretary of the San Marino Communist Party, devoted his speech to the tasks of the communist movement in the struggle for peace. The Communists of San Marino gave a positive appraisal to concrete proposals of the

Soviet Union for disarmament, he said. It is necessary to wage the struggle against the "star wars" plan advanced by the White House. We hold that genuine peace and detente cannot be achieved without the solution of the problems of all developing countries.

Secretary General of the Women's International Democratic Federation Miriam Vire-Tuominen conveyed to those present cordial greetings from millions of women who continue the work to develop women's cooperation for the sake of peace, international solidarity, the defence of the rights of women and children. Women the world over support the Soviet Union's realistic programme aimed at ridding the world of nuclear arms, she said.

TASS Cites Castro's Praise for Gorbachev on Soviet TV

LD281213 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2050 GMT 27 Feb 86

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS) — We are going through a fairly complicated, dramatic moment. The efforts which the CPSU is making through statements and steps by Mikhail Gorbachev have played a decisive role in dispersing the clouds that have gathered over the international arena. These efforts are highly appraised by all the peoples of the world, declared Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in an interview for Soviet television.

The preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, he went on, in essence began in 1985, when the appropriate atmosphere was created and major, large-scale tasks and objectives were set out. The main task in foreign policy is the preservation of peace. In internal affairs I would call speeding up the rate of socioeconomic development based on achievements of science and technology the main thing. It is of primary importance.

Today, Fidel Castro said in conclusion, all peoples of the world are looking at the Soviet Union as the main hope in the cause of preservation of peace, in the cause on mankind's survival. I think that the 27th CPSU Congress will be of enormous importance for the whole world.

IZVESTIYA Reports Bloc Delegates' Arrival

PM261622 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 86 Morning Edition p 12

[TASS report: "Arrival of Foreign Delegations Attending 27th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] The following delegations have arrived in Moscow to attend the 27th CPSU Congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee:

From the BCP — Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council (delegation head); Grisha Filipov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chief of the BCP Central Committee Foreign Policy and International Relations Section; Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee and first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug BCP Committee; and Dimitur Zhulev, member of the BCP Central Committee and Bulgarian ambassador to the USSR;

From the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] — Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP (delegation head); Gyorgy Lazar, member of the MZSMP Central Committee Politburo and premier of the Hungarian Council of Ministers; Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee; and Sandor Rajnai, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and Hungarian ambassador to the USSR;

From the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] — Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and of Ministers (delegation head); Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and vice president of the Cuban Councils of State and of Ministers; Jorge Valdes Risquet, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat; and Lionel Prieto Soto, member of the PCC Central Committee Secretariat and Cuban ambassador to the USSR;

From the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] — Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council (delegation head); Zbigniew Messner, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers; Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Jerzy Romanik, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and team leader at a Katowice Voivodship hard coal mine; and Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR;

From the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] — Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of Romania (delegation head); Constantin Dascalescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and prime minister of the Romanian Government; Ion Stoian, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee; and Traian Dudas, member of the RCP Central Committee and Romanian ambassador to the USSR;

From the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] — Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of Czechoslovakia (delegation head); Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czechoslovak Government; Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and Czechoslovak ambassador to the USSR;

From the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] — Dimce Belovski, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium (delegation head); Stanislav Stojanovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; and Milojko Drulovic,,

member of the LCY Central Committee and Yugoslav ambassador to the USSR.

The delegations were met by Members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, D.A. Kunayev, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, and V.V. Shcherbitskiy;

Candidate Members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin, B.N. Ponomarev, and N.V. Talyzin; Secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee L.N. Zaykov, I.V. Kapitonov, and V.N. Nikonov; G.F. Sizov, chairman of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; Members of the CPSU Central Committee A.N. Aksenov, G.A. Arbatov, B.I. Aristov, I.V. Arkhipov, B.V. Bakin, A.P. Biryukova, V.M. Borisenkov, V.I. Brovikov, K.G. Vayno, N.F. Vasilyev, L.A. Gorshkov, B.I. Gostev, L.I. Grekov, I.S. Gustov, A.G. Yegorov, L.M. Zamyatin, L.D. Ksazakov, Z.M. Kruglova, N.Ye. Kruchina, V.P. Lomakin, V.F. Maltsev, G.I. Marchuk, V.P. Orlov, V.Ya. Pavlov, O.B. Rakhmanin, N.N. Rodionov, I.S. Silayev, Yu.F. Solovyev, B.I. Stukalin, V.N. Taratuta, L.N. Tolkunov, Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, S.V. Chervenko, S.A. Shalayev, and B.Ye. Shcherbina; Candidate Members of the CPSU Central Committee N.K. Dybenko, F.T. Yermash, A.S. Kapto, Ye.A. Kozlovskiy, A.I. Mayorets, M.F. Nenashev, A.G. Petrishchev, V.A. Shamshin, and A.I. Shitov; Members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission A.Ye. Bovin, V.F. Konnov, V.A. Medvedev, I.S. Nayashhkov, A.V. Fedulova, and A.P. Kharlamov; Deputy Chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers Yu.P. Batalin and Yu.D. Maslyukov; chiefs of CPSU Central Committee departments V.G. Afonin, A.I. Voskiy, A.I. Lukyanov, A.G. Melnikov, and A.N. Yakovlev; USSR Ministers B.V. Kravtsov and G.A. Kiselev, I.I. Kovalenko. V.P. Mozhin, M.I. Polaykov, A.V. Teterin, R.A. Ulyanovskiy, O.A. Chukanov, V.S. Shaposhnikov, and G.Kh. Shakhnazarov; A.S. Kuklinov, deputy administrator of affairs of the CPSU Central Committee; P.A. Rodionov, deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism; R.G. Yanovskiy, rector of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; Yu.N. Pankov, rector of the Institute of Social Sciences; USSR Deputy Ministers M.I. Zhuravleva, Ye.V. Zaytsev, and F.I. Peregudov; A.I. Kachanov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations; Deputy Chairmen of the RSFSR Council of Ministers N.T. Trubilin and Ye.M. Chekharin; RSFSR Ministers Yu.S. Melenetyev and A.Ye. Sukharev; L.K. Naumenko, deputy chief editor of *KOMMUNIST*; P.K. Lauchinskiy, second secretary of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee;

V.S. Stepanov, first secretary of the Karelian CPSU Obkom; Ye.P. Pitovranov, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry; Ye.M. Primakov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations; A.N. Gromyko, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institue; V.G. Solodovnikov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries; Ye.K Silin, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation; USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut G.S. Titov; and other officials.

Gromyko, Others Welcome Honecker, Delegation

LD231800 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1730 GMT 23 Feb 86

[Text] A delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], headed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived in Moscow today for the 27th CPSU congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

The delegation was met at the airport by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

Vorotnikov Welcomes Batmonh, MPRP Delegation

LD221502 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1300 GMT 22 Feb 86

[Text] An MPRP delegation headed by Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of Mongolia, arrived in Moscow today for the 27th CPSU Congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. It was met at the airfield by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

PDRY Assistant Secretary General Arrives in Moscow

GF221753 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic
1630 GMT 22 Feb 86

[Text] Brother Salim Salih Muhammad, assistant secretary general of the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] Central Committee, arrived in Moscow today to join the YSP delegation chaired by Brother 'Ali Salim al-Bayd, secretary general of the YSP Central Committee, in attending the 27th CPSU Congress.

He was received by Comrade Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the International Department at the CPSU Central Committee, and a number of officials at the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

U.S. Reaction, Reportage on Congress Cited

LD011136 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0700 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] The reaction in the United States to the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress is outlined by our correspondent in New York, Andrey Ptashnikov:

The U.S. mass media is daily reporting on the course of congress work. They are also widely commenting on the report delivered at it by Comrade Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It is noted that the main part of the report was devoted to questions of accelerating the social and economic development of the USSR. Thus, the newspaper *THE NEW YORK TIMES* picks out the words of Comrade Gorbachev that

this acceleration is the key to all the problems of the country — short- and long-term, economic and social, political and ideological, internal and external ones.

Analyzing the basic aims and directions in the foreign policy strategy of the CPSU, the U.S. press, television, and radio cite in the first instance thE evaluation given in the report of the current international situation, especially of USSR-U.S. relations. The newspaper *THE WASHINGTON POST* quotes Comrade Gorbachev as saying that never in the post-war decades was the situation in the world as explosive and, therefore, as complicated and inauspicious as in the first half of the eighties. Attention is also devoted to the call contained in the report to search for, find, and make use of even the least opportunity in order, while it is still possible, to break the tendency toward the emergence of military danger.

What is the response to this call from the White House? Appearing on U.S. television, the President of the United States said outright that his administration intends in the future also to conduct talks with the Soviet Union from a position of strength, to increase the expenditure of the Pentagon, and to continue to implement new military programs, including the aggressive "star wars" program. In this way, he left not the smallest doubt that the course of the White House toward activating the arms race on earth and its transfer into space remains immutable.

Marchuk on Environmental Protection, Nuclear Power

LD011200 MOSCOW TASS in English 1144 GMT 1 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, March 1 TASS — Environmental protection is one of the most urgent problems and the Soviet Union is making immense efforts toward resolving it, said Academician Guriy Marchuk, a deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology. He was answering questions asked by correspondents during a news conference in the press center of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

In recent years the U.S.S.R. invested tens of billions of roubles in the development of low-waste and wasteless technologies and the construction of treatment facilities employing the latest in technology and equipment, he said.

Such a hazardous phenomenon as acid rain, for example, is well known in the West. But this problem has actually been solved in the U.S.S.R., Guriy Marchuk said. Soviet researchers found a new way for utilizing gases with a low content of sulphur that are known to cause that phenomenon. The new method, moreover, makes a 100 percent utilization of such gases possible.

An important area of the ecological policy is to ensure a completely safe burial of radioactive waste of nuclear power plants. This problem has been successfully solved in the Soviet Union — a factor that creates bountiful opportunities for further dynamic development of the nuclear power industry, said the chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Science and Technology. Its development in the U.S.S.R. will proceed along the lines of construction of new nuclear power plants employing both thermal and fast nuclear reactors. A correct balance of development of these two areas of the nuclear power industry makes it possible to receive energy resources for hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of years.

Soviet technology in nuclear power engineering has proved its complete reliability and safety. This will be seen from the example of nuclear power plants built in the U.S.S.R. and those built abroad with the participation of Soviet agencies. for instance, Guriy Marchuk said, Lovisa nuclear power plant in Finland, one of the joint Soviet-Finnish economic ventures, is among the cleanest in the world.

Correction to CPSU Congress Speeches

The following correction applies to the speeches at the 27th CPSU Congress published under the headlines "Kirovskiy Zavod Worker's Address" and "Belorussia's Slyunkov" on pages O 22 through O 26 of the 27 February Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* National Affairs Supplement

Page O 23, right column, paragraph 5, last two lines, should read: "...the 12th 5-Year Plan...." (ending item)

The remaining paragraphs from page O 23, right column, paragraph 6, through O 25, left column, paragraph 7, are the end of the speech by Belorussia's Slyunkov. A corrected version of the speech by N.N. Slyunkov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee will be published in the 4 March Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* National Affairs Supplement.

Soviet Envoy to Ethiopia Dies Suddenly
PM281457 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Feb 86 Second Edition p 8

[Excerpts] Gennadiy Nikolayevich Andreyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Socialist Ethiopia, died suddenly 25 February 1986.

G.N. Andreyev was born into a worker's family in the city of Okha in Sakhalin Oblast 19 June 1936.

He worked as deputy chief of Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom Party Organizational Work Section. From 1971 through 1979 he held a responsible job on the CPSU Central Committee apparatus. During 1979-1985 he was second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

As of March 1985 he held the post of USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Socialist Ethiopia.

M.S. Gorbachev, G.A. Aliyev, V.I. Vorotnikov, A.A. Gromyko, D.A. Kunayev, Ye.K. Ligachev, N.I. Ryzhkov, M.S. Solomentsev, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, P.N. Demichev, V.I. Dolgikh, B.N. Yeltsin, V.V. Kuznetsov, B.N. Ponomarev, S.L. Sokolov, N.V. Talyzin, L.N. Zaykov, M.V. Zimyanin, I.V. Kapitonov, V.P. Nikonov, G.F. Sizov, G.P. Razumovskiy, S.V. Chervonenko, T.N. Menteshashvili, K.S. Demirchyan, G.M. Voskanyan, F.T. Sarkisyan, Ye.F. Muravyev, G.M. Korniyenko, V.F. Maltsev, L.F. Ilichev, M.S. Kapitsa, A.G. Kovalev, V.G. Komplektov, V.P. Loginov, V.M. Nikoforov, Yu.Ye. Fokin, V.M. Vasev, V.I. Dolgov.

New Efficiency Coming to Soviet Bureaucracy
LD251636 Paris Domestic Service in French 1200 GMT 25 Feb 86

[Interview with TASS international relations specialist Boris Tumanov by Paris radio's Moscow correspondent Ulysse Gosset and unidentified studio announcer; Tumanov answers in French — live relay from Moscow]

[Text] I know Ulysse Gosset that you have beside you Boris Tumanov, a journalist from the TASS news agency who deals mainly with international relations. Good day, Boris Tumanov: I think that on one point at least you will agree with us — Brezhnev is now finished in the Soviet Union?

[Tumanov] Yes — yes and no; because you see the severity with which Mikhail Gorbachev criticized the inadequacies and shortcomings of our society should not necessarily focus the problem around the name of Brezhnev. It is not a combat between two Soviet leaders, one dead and the other living. It is quite simply a change that is happening within Soviet society, a change whose slogan is efficiency. This means, let us say, that for a while we have been beginning to realize that we have exhausted the, if you like, extensive methods and factors for the development of our society. It is now high time to turn to the general intensification of our society in all fields.

[Gosset] We will perhaps examine that in more detail but first a word on the ritual which has been reduced. In short, we have not seen what we saw during earlier congresses. What is the significance of that for you?

[Tumanov] It signifies efficiency. Listen, there is no time to waste on exaggerated politeness and rituals. We are getting directly to the heart of the matter, and in my opinion that detail illustrates the style, an efficient style, a profitable style if you like. We have made the time profitable.

[Gosset] Who are the parasites?

[Tumanov] The parasites are the people who sponge on society — really the thieves — those who abuse society's trust, and those who use their official position to improve their personal situation to the detriment of others.

[Gosset] They are the [word indistinct] the cadres of the party who take advantage of their political position for example to buy cars at an advantageous price and to have television sets and video recorders at an advantageous price, those who confuse politics and business a little bit?

[Studio announcer] Yes, in France, and I think in your country as well, that is called the Soviet nomenclatura? Tumanov?

[Tumanov] The Soviet nomenclatura, no. You mean by the Soviet nomenclatura the bureaucrats in general? Listen, it is not only the bureaucrats who grow rich to the detriment of society, there are also people who work in business and even those who work in factories. For example, workers can sometimes steal from their firms. Perhaps they take small things, but all the same that harms society and the material well-being of all.

[Gosset] It is all very well to denounce bureaucracy but bureaucracy is not only a question of men, it is above all a matter of structures. The structures are not changing in the Soviet Union. How can Gorbachev hope to reach that objective?

[Tumanov] I believe that, first of all, we have to create an economic mechanism that will be economic and not bureaucratic. We have to endow our economy with economic stimuli, factors, and motivations and not just bureaucratic ones. In my view the bureaucracy will disappear on its own.

[Gosset] And you are sure that there will be no resistance?

[Tumanov] Resistance? Yes. There will be, let us say, the resistance of inertia, certainly, because there are people — do not think above all of sabotage, that is something absolutely unthinkable — but there are people who are an objective hindrance through their slowness and through their mentality which cannot adapt to the new conditions of work. Well, those people must go and that has been stressed forcefully once again in Gorbachev's speech today.

[Gosset] In conclusion, one can sum things up in one word: de-Brezhnevization?

[Tumanov] I will repeat once again, you can use that term if you want to...

[Gosset] Although it is not very easy to pronounce....

[Tumanov] There you are. First, well, I suggest you change it for the terms efficiency, intensification, and productivity.

Journalist Views Need To Humanize News Coverage

PM241330 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 Feb 86 First Edition p 2

[Yevgeniy Sinitsyn article under rubric "On Problems of Television": "It's Boring Working Like That..."]

[Text] The program ended. The usual sort of thing. Routine, as we say... There had not been any significant events that day — political or economic. There had been life... But why was it shown in such a bland way on the screen? One couldn't recall any critical reporting, let alone positive reporting. Boring. But boring is an unprofessional term. I reflect on it as a personal failure, analyze it, and look for the causes... I am equally responsible for the "boring" tag. Although my reports and commentaries on "Vremya" are a mere drop in the ocean. Yet this drop contains all the typical ocean phenomena: storms, giant waves, ripples, calm... To put it simply, for everything that is about to be described, I am also responsible.

Responsibility. It is what is lacking sometimes, I think. There is no hall, there is no field, there is no expanse of land where the whole of our audience could assemble at the same time. Experts have estimated that it is more than 100 million.

Just as the waves carrying sound and images pass over the horizon, so the "Vremya" program crosses horizon after horizon and now penetrates the remotest parts of the country, bringing people news about our complex, beautiful, and troubled times. I will dwell on the "home" section; the "international" section has its own preoccupations and problems.

Why do many of our broadcasts on domestic problems fail to engender lively interest in viewers?

I think that one of the main reasons is that there is a gulf between the way the country lives, what Soviet people think and worry about, and the way we reflect this life, with its thoughts and preoccupations, in our television programs. Not without reason does a certain proportion of the viewing audience disappear when the "economic news" comes on — I have seen this myself on more than one occasion when I have been watching television in a public place — and return for the "international" section: This interests everyone; questions of war and peace concern everyone.

But the events taking place are interesting, significant, and of concern to people. A new shop has been commissioned, a blast furnace has started up, a plan has been fulfilled, a school has been constructed, an entire housing development has been commissioned. It is boring because we have not yet learned to establish the magic link in our materials between say, the startup of a blast furnace and the family well-being of the individual. But the link is there: all of us — everyone who picks up a pen to describe life in plants, factories, and agro-industrial complexes — must see it and put his finger on it. Any news can be directed at the viewers' mind and heart by "humanizing" it first. And this highlights the question of the language of our television bulletins.

Language, language, language... It has sunk to the level of terse "TASS-iness." And even when a worker, rather than a correspondent, attempts to say something original we smooth it out with the sharp editorial pencil. Incidentally, many of us editors have pencils like these which are exceedingly particular about style and "correct" language. In my view, television is first and foremost living, graphic, human speech capable of moving people, teaching sense, and inspiring people. What often happens is that the announcer says that a new shop has started up at a particular plant; he hands over to a correspondent, and from his 3-minute report the viewer learns that...a new shop has started up at a plant — and that's that. The rest consists of the correspondents' hackneyed comments, heard a thousand times before in one form or another, and the smoothed-out (either by the editor or by the correspondent himself) words of someone who has something to do with the new shop.

I have often seen such metamorphoses: you talk with people before shooting; you marvel at their lively, picturesque language; but when shooting begins you would scarcely recognize them — where has it all gone! Afterwards you realize: They watch our programs and think they have to speak in that way for us: "As we approach... We pledge to..." Sometimes our conventional, lifeless jargon is trotted out so smoothly and easily, kind of skimming along the surface... Editors are staunch custodians of stereotypes and hot air.

Occasionally something fundamental is removed: For example, miner Yegor Drozdetskiy said: "I am not the only one working at the pit; I have two sons who are miners, my daughter works at the pit, and my son-in-law works at the pit. And, of course, all we talk about is how to produce more coal." That is, they talk about work. If the correspondent had said this about his hero no one would have doubted it. But it was the hero himself speaking — his voice, his face, his eyes, his smile. Yet they crossed the last sentence out, saying it was insincere. They can't, they said, just talk about work! How can one explain to this editor that he has crossed out the real truth? We all talk about work: at work, at home, and at other people's homes. Yes, work. We think about it in different ways: with joy and pain, with a sense of dissatisfaction with what has been done and hope that the new workday will be better than the last. The day will also come when more trust is placed in each one of us. We have people to handle the political side, but I would leave the responsibility for the artistic, purely journalistic side to us — so we can build on it; there would be no need to hover, pencil poised, over every word of a report, every line of a commentary. There would then be more material marked "curious characters."

"Reorganization" is not just a word; it is the quintessence of our work today, including journalism.

Boring.

Boring, my colleagues.

It is boring working like that — bereft of God, of inspiration.

I decided to write this in the paper only after I had repeatedly tried at the editorial office to prove the correctness of my words. There are happy exceptions. There are many of them, it has to be said — but they are exceptions nonetheless. Exceptions to the rule. And, as a rule, at our editorial office reportage has become a commonplace — anyone can do it, even technical personnel. Provided they are competent. And provided it is all straightforward. You only have to find someone who will say what is necessary (and that is little enough!), add a few background words of your own (preferably with figures) — and the report is done. And we attach paramount importance to figures: For some reason it is reckoned that the more figures there are, the more "reliable" the reportage is. And the main reason for their use is nearly always absent: how they compare with statewide and local figures. The impression is created that in our "home" materials we by no means aim to promote the cause and make a sensible creative contribution, but to create a kind of general "noise" consisting of particular — obligatory! — words, concepts, and facts. Even allowing for any polemical exaggeration on my part, it deserves a hearing — it is polemics that cannot be avoided.

Why does it happen this way, I wonder.

Probably we have to start with the peculiarities of the journalist's mentality. Aging material has a strange effect on us: as it is, there is not enough oxygen to carry on working. And those who decide the fate of materials are perhaps needlessly acting as sole judges, saying yes or no. Where is the artistic council? I consider myself to be a member of it, but I can only remember one session — and that was not on a creative matter. I would not say that there are many people at the editorial office who agree with me. I have not counted them. I was frightened of finding no one. But here are some letters. "It's as if the authors are frightened of surprising, astonishing, amazing the readers — and we are paying for this indifference." This was written by B.A. Borisenko. He is 41, an economist. The letter writers advise us to make wider use of invention, modern technology, and visual effects when making our programs. I have nothing against that.

...So here I come up against an old paradox. The workload seems incredible, but the output of of each of us correspondents is miserably small. On average each of us does 1-2 items a week, each lasting 4-5 minutes... Compare this with, say, a well-known writer and publicist (whom I like very much, incidentally) who does more commentaries on television than any of us full-time staff, without affecting his other work. And this does not prevent him from successfully running a national journal, writing articles and books, being secretary of the Writers Union, and giving public lectures. Now that's work for you! You have to envy him! That is how a journalist should work.

Here we waste the bulk of the time setting up shots and dealing with other — purely technical — matters, and there is precious little strength and time left for creativity. In our programs we plug scientific labor organization, but we ourselves are back in the Stone Age as far as that is concerned. Morally, creatively, and organizationally we are cavemen. I remember we started on the radio back in the sixties. Jacks-of-all-trades. Moreover, because our items are very seldom broadcast there remains a tiresome pile of reports that never were, of unrealized plans. The inert rhythm of labor leads to inert journlaistic thought and gives rise to indifference and a penchant for idle chatter. Making fuller use of the editorial office's entire creative potential, we must first of all look at our own house: Is everything up to date, are we lagging behind advanced journalistic thought, which asks "how" as well as "what"? By what methods, in what language, and how attractively are we carrying out the tasks which the party has set for the main news medium — political television?

A popular word with us is "precedent." Suppose we have to cover a particular event — we look through the old files: "What precedent is there?" And I think we are still working in accordance with precedent in the broad sense of the word... But what if this precedent was once unprecedentedly dull? I believe that every job should be treated as something new, we must work from scratch, and create — always! — the best, the most correct, the most perfect "precedent."

In greeting the 27th congress of the country's Communists and looking ahead to the enormous amount of work we will be doing, we must together reestablish ourselves as creative workers... At any rate, the fulfillment of the new tasks currently facing us demands not just thoroughly honest work, but also inspiration and creativity.

Uzbek Power, Electrification Ministers Named

WA282115 [Editorial Report] Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian on 5 February publishes on page 1 a 50-word ukase announcing the appointment of Marat Sadykovich Tashpulatov as the new minister for power and electrification for the republic. The ukase is dated 4 February and is signed by A. Salimov, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, and L. Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium. A brief "Khronika" announcement on page 4 of the same issue notes that Aziz Khakimovich Khamidov was released from his duties as the former minister because of his retirement for health reasons.

New Uzbek Minister of Motor Transport Appointed

WA282137 [Editorial Report] Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian on 5 February publishes on page 1 a 50-word ukase noting the appointment of Aydyn Alibekovich Azimbekov as the new Uzbek minister for motor transport. The ukase is dated 4 February 1986, and is signed by A. Salimov, chairman of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium, and L. Bekkulbekova, secretary of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium. A "Khronika" announcement on page 4 of the same issue notes that the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium released Aleksandr Fadeyevich Gavrilov from his duties as the former minister in connection with his retirement on pension.

New Uzbek Chairman of State Committee

WA030745 [Editorial Report] Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian carries on page 1 of its 13 February edition a 50-word ukase appointing Kudratilla Akhmedovich Akhmedov as chairman of the Uzbek State Committee on Prices. He is released from his duties as deputy chairman of the Uzbek Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee for the republic. The ukase is dated 12 February and is signed by A. Salimov and L. Bekklulbekova, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet Presidium. Page 4 of the same issue carries an unattributed announcement that Nasretdin Tadzhiyev was released from his obligations as chairman of the State Committee on Prices in connection with his retirement.

New Kazakh Minister of Internal Affairs

WA030734 [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata *KAZAKHSTAN SKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian carries on page 1 of its 6 February edition a decree of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announcing the appointment of Grigoriy Nikiforovich Knayazev as the Kazakh SSR minister of internal affairs. The decree is dated 5 February and is signed by S. Mukashev and Z. Kadyrova, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the KaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The same paper carries on page 4 a 50-word statement announcing that Andrey Georgiyevich Platayev has been relieved of his duties as Kazakh SSR minister of internal affairs in connection with his retirement.

New Kazakh SSR TV, Radio Chairman Appointed

WA280830 [Editorial Report] Alma-Ata *KAZAKHSTAN SKAYA PRAVDA* in Russian carries on page 1 of its 4 February edition, a decree of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium announcing the appointment of Gadilbek Minazhevich Shalakhmetov as the chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The decree, dated 3 February, is signed by S. Mukashev and Z. Kadyrova, chairman and secretary, respectively, of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The same paper carries on page 4 a 50-word KAZTAG statement announcing that Kamal Seytzhanovich Smailov has been relieved of his duties as chairman of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting in connection with his transfer to other work.

Zhdanov Birth Anniversary Commemorated

PM251339 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Feb 86 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Communist of Leninist Tempering"]

[Text] A ceremonial session devoted to the 90th anniversary of the birth of A.A. Zhdanov, eminent figure of the Communist Party and the Soviet State, was held at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow 21 February.

The speakers at the session — Academician A.G. Yegorov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and Doctor of Historical Sciences P.A. Rodionov, first deputy director of the institute — spoke of A.A. Zhdanov's contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. It was pointed out that he, a Communist of Leninist tempering, devoted all his strength and abilities to the cause of the country's socialist transformation, to strengthening the party's ranks, and to propaganda of Marxism-Leninism.

Present at the session were senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, party veterans, scientific and cultural figures, and representatives of the capital's public.

Kuznetsov Relays Thanks For Congratulations

PM261001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 86 First Edition p 2

[Text] To the *PRAVDA* editorial board:

I want to express through *PRAVDA* my profound thanks to party, soviet, state, and public organizations, friends and comrades, and foreign politicians and statesmen who congratulated me on my birthday and on my being awarded the Order of Lenin.

V. Kuznetsov.

Rocket Forces Chief on Dedication to Duty, Careerism
PM260937 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 86 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Army General Yu.P. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Rocket Forces and USSR deputy minister of defense, by *KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA* special correspondent V. Kiselev under the rubric "Today Is Soviet Army and Navy Day": "Entrusted With Guarding the Motherland"]

[Text] Yuriy Pavlovich Maksimov's generation did not have to worry about the agonizingly sweet thoughts of what to do with their lives. The times made the decision for them: to be a soldier and defend the motherland with weapon in hand. They entered the battle against the monstrous power of fascism, which was blinded by hatred of everything living and swept aside everything on its way to "world domination": the nations of conscience and honor, political parties, and entire states and peoples. They withstood the cruel blows of the enormously destructive war machine. They hoisted the red banner over the Reichstag. They defended the freedom and independence of the fatherland. They saved the world and its centuries-old history and culture.

Maksimov: No, I probably did not intend to link my whole life with the Army and military service. I am of peasant origin; this is probably where the attraction for the land comes from. I seriously thought about agronomy. I followed my father around the country from one construction site to another during the years of industrialization and met various different people; and my dreams would change. I felled trees and wanted to become a lumberjack. I then got a yearning for geology... But I knew one thing for sure: No matter what I became, I was bound to be a soldier.

We boys of the prewar period prepared very seriously for our upcoming military service. The civil war had ended not too long before. And then there was Khasan, Halhin Gol, and the international brigades in Spain. The country, and therefore everyone of us, particularly respected the person in uniform. People would imitate everything he did and emulate his best qualities. There were obligatory physical exercises in the morning, and the attitude toward military lessons at school was very serious; defense badges were regarded as decorations.

Kiselev: Yuriy Pavlovich, how did you do in this area?

Maksimov: With badges? Everything was in order. I took part in track and field, volleyball, basketball, and boxing, and in winter I skied. I had the prepared for the Labor and Defense of the USSR and "Voroshilov Marksman" badges. Although, I must say, they were not very easy to earn. I sometimes think that you do not often see the Prepared for Labor and Defense of the USSR badge because they are at times given out very easily by adults, too easily. And it is not only the badge that is important here, not only its prestige that we undermine...

Kiselev: They prepared to become soldiers. They became soldiers when it was required of them. And they proved that they could endure the severest test. Although, what does prove mean? They did not prove anything to anyone. They simply stood up straight and shielded their country. In so doing the great, overwhelming majority of them turned out to be morally and physically ready to carry the inordinately great burden that landed on their frail, still-boyish shoulders.

Maksimov: I was 16 years old when the war began. My friends and I went to the military commissariat to ask to go to the front. They told us that our time at the front had not yet come. But there was a representative of the Komsomol raykom at the commissariat who suggested that we sign up for a destroyer battalion, which meant guarding targets, fighting saboteurs, and so on. We also built defensive lines around Moscow. It was fall, pouring rain, cold weather, the roaring water in the ditches was knee-deep, and our footwear had fallen apart. And you mixed the sticky mush with a heavy shovel. You tossed slush from one ledge to another, and it would come back. And so you kept tossing, tossing... The norm was 3 cubic meters per day. But we fulfilled it. We understood that we had to.

I was longing to go to the front. However, there was my age, my age... No one wanted to talk to a minor — it was not done — and yet they were all there. Now, years later, I understand those strict military commissariat workers. But at the time I was offended. What is a minor, when the enemy is at the very walls of the capital? I added 2 years to my age and was enrolled in the militia. Then, the Moscow Machine Gun School No 1, a quick discharge, the rank of lieutenant, the post of commander of a medium machine gun platoon, and the front. I was wounded three times, receied a heavy concussion, but, as you see, I am alive. I lasted until Victory Day.

Kiselev: And then, Yuriy Pavlovich, after the salutes had resounded and formations of demobilized men went home? You were 21 years old. Did you want to leave Army service, obtain a civilian profession, and live a quiet life without cares, exercises, forced marches, and sleepless sights?

Maksimov: You see, the question is this. There is the word "want" and the word "need." At times they conflict. But you must subjugate your "want"to the "need" if you are a citizen. I was told: You are needed in the Armed Forces. And I had become firmly attached to them.

Kiselev: "Want" and "need." Perhaps these concepts conflict more in the Army than anywhere else. Does a person not get tired of the constant need to subjugate his will to the orders?

Maksimov: Well, I think that it is not just in the Army that anarchy is not tolerated. Moreover, what does subjugating your will mean? I want, for instance, to lie around in a warm bed, but have to march at night, in the cold. The first, of course, is more pleasant. But then, you could sleep your whole life away. The choice between "want" and "need" is always made consciously. The importance of the matter dictates this, you understand. And it is very serious and crucial for us military men: to guard the motherland.

Or it may be called discipline. Firm discipline is needed everywhere: in industry and agriculture. The Army without it is simply inconceivable.

I am not speaking now as a commander in chief, but as a soldier

who has seen war. A heroic deed is, after all, often produced by discipline. We found ourselves in many tight places at the front. And it was very frightening at times. No matter how long you have fought or how experienced you are, if, for instance, 20 tanks come at you in an open field, you would not start singing a victory song. Your natural instinct of self-preservation makes you hit the ground. Or, what is worse, it prods you in the back. But a sense of duty keeps you where you are. And discipline also enters this tense inner struggle. And you place before you a string of grenades or get up and and face the firing guns. And there is no time to worry during a battle.

Kiselev: Are the 20 tanks an abstract example, or are they something more?

Maksimov: There was such a situation near Budapest. Our battalion attacked in 1944 on the eve of the New Year. Our neighbors to the right and left got stuck against the enemy's defense, but we broke through and progressed another 10 km or so. We hit the Hitlerites guarding the highway like a blizzard. It seemed that they were not expecting any guests. They were decorating trees in the dugouts and preparing to distribute yuletide gifts. Well, we saved them the trouble.

In the morning the fascists realized that there were only a handful of Russians at their rear and tried to crush us. There was one attack after another. No matter, our machinegunners worked conscientiously. Then the tanks came. We put our captured antiaircraft guns on direct laying and thumped the Krupp armor. This went on all day. And at night our forces came.

Kiselev: Yuriy Pavlovich, we have discussed discipline and the sense of duty. However, albeit rarely, letters come to the editorial office from young officers: I erred in my calling, imagining the Army to be compeltely different. I thought it would be romantic. But there is just a daily, dull routine from reveille to retreat.

Maksimov: But how can it be otherwise? Every vocation is the same: work, work, and work. If you approach your work seriously and quite selflessly, do not expect an easy life. And what is romanticism — either in the military or at shock Komsomol construction sites — but overcoming difficulties and often working under tension. The golden shoulderboards and parades to the ringing sound of brass bands only occur on holidays. In other words, they are secondary.

The very vocation of an officer presupposes that he is obliged to be ready to sacrifice his personal happiness and — we will speak rankly — presupposes hardship and difficulties. I note that the officer's workday is often irregular. It is not enough that you spend most of your time at work. You also spend every spare minute at home sitting with a book, studying special literature, or summarizing something. Military work, as you know, does not like dabblers. It has always required clear minds.

A fellow who decides to make the Army his life must think about it very carefully. But a simplistic notion still exists about an officer's work. That they have high salaries, quarters, and handsome uniforms. And people do not think about what lies behind this.

Kiselev: What is your attitude toward a concept such as a career. Should a person entering the military profession think about this?

Maksimov: It was not I who said: It is a bad soldier who does not dream of becoming a general. In any activity, a person should not be satisfied just with what he has achieved if he feels that he has the ability and strength for something greater. Otherwise, he just destroys his talent and wastes his energies. This also ultimately harms society. A less worthy person will take his place.

Everyone should conscientiously fulfill his duties and thereby be invaluable to the country. But everyone should see the prospects and possibility of creative growth. I stress creative.

Military service and its whole structure presuppose movement forward. If an officer is conscientious, innovative, competent, and worthy of it, he gets promoted and in time the higher ranks are conferred upon him.

But can this be called a career? In the time of Vladimir Dal, author of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language," this word probably reflected its essence. A career is a path, course, a walk in life, service, and successes... Its meaning has changed somewhat with the years. And now people are more inclined to careerism. And progress at any price and elbowing everyone along the way to your cherished goal personally sickens me. It is a perversion of our social system and, consequently, is immoral. One should work honestly, without thinking about ranks and decorations.

Kiselev: Having linked his destiny with the Army during the hard war years, he has been loyal to it all his life. At the front, after a few days and nights of continuous, tense battles to breach a fortified enemy region blocking the way to Zaporozhye, he was accepted into the party. Having begun as an officer candidate, he passed through all the levels of command and staff work. He completed the M.V. Frunze Military Academy and the Military Academy of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. In peacetime he was awarded the Gold Star of Hero of the Soviet Union.

Maksimov: Believe me, there was simply no time to think about a career. First, it was necessary to defeat the enemy. Then strengthen the country's defense and under no circumstances allow the other side to gain the upper hand in the military confrontation between two world systems: imperialism and socialism. We did not want this rivalry; it was forced on us. But falling behind meant providing a temptation to unleash a new war.

I can firmly say that our state will not begin a war. The Soviet Army has never treated anyone; it is necessary only for defense. The very first decree of our popular regime was the Decree on Peace signed by V.I. Lenin. The statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has recently resounded through the whole world; its main idea is clear to all: The Soviet Union proposes entering the third millenium without mass strike weapons, thereby ensuring the existence of mankind.

We know the price of peace also because we were often forced to

defend it with weapons. I recall one of my battles. At night, under enemy fire, we were making an assault crossing near the Donbass town of Slavyanska Severskiy Donets. It was necessary to capture the bridgehead and hold it until the main forces came. About 50 meters from shore, a shell exploding nearby capsized our boat. We found ourselves in the water and had to swim the rest of the way. We got to the shore after all. My platoon fortified a nameless hillock. We repulsed continuous infantry and tank attacks and were deafened by the thunder of guns and bombing. But we held on! Because this was our native soil. And we were ready to grasp it with our teeth before we let the fascist boot defile it. We fought to the death for 24 hours. It later became clear that only a company was left to the regiment. And of the 25 officers in our battalion, only 2 lived.

The men died, I think now, so that their children and grandchildren would not burn in a nuclear holocaust. Then, in May 1945, we piously believed that the world's last war had been fought.

Kiselev: Nature created reasonable men. But man created weapons of monstrously destructive force capable of destroying life itself. And imperialism is producing increasingly newer lethal systems. It is becoming too crowded on earth, and they are trying to put weapons into space. Why?

Maksimov: One should not look for common sense in all this. Although one can recall Marx, who in *Das Kapital* cites the British publicist (Dunning): "Capital fears lack of profit...Provide 10 percent and capital is agreeable to any application...With 100 percent it flouts all human laws, and with 300 percent there is not a crime that it will not risk..."

So from the viewpoint of the military-industrial complex in major imperialist countries which makes superprofits in everything, this perhaps, seems to be in order. But is this a healthy viewpoint? Living on a powder keg is unnatural.

Now, in an attempt to delude public opinion, in the American capital they say that the weapons put into space orbit will be defensive weapons and are only intended for defense and to destroy missiles aimed at them. But the dialectics of weaponry is such that they cannot only serve to attack or defend — these categories are relative. The hope for one's own complete security could also provoke a fateful step. A mythical hope is enough.

History has often proved that talking to the Soviet Union from the position of strength is hopeless. Soviet servicemen profoundly realize the point and meaning of the tasks they are charged with and understand that to stop war in the current international situation is only possible by preserving nuclear parity and maintaining high combat readiness. They are on watch around the clock.